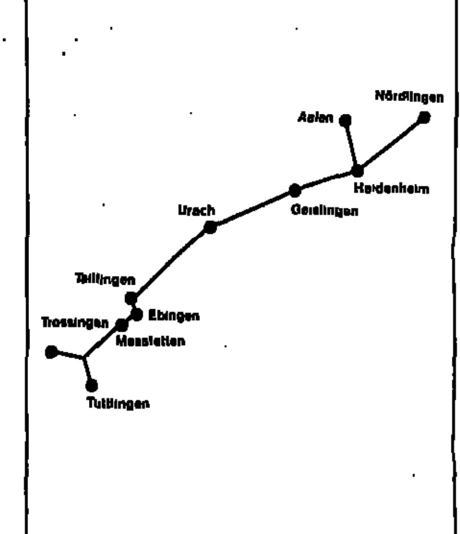
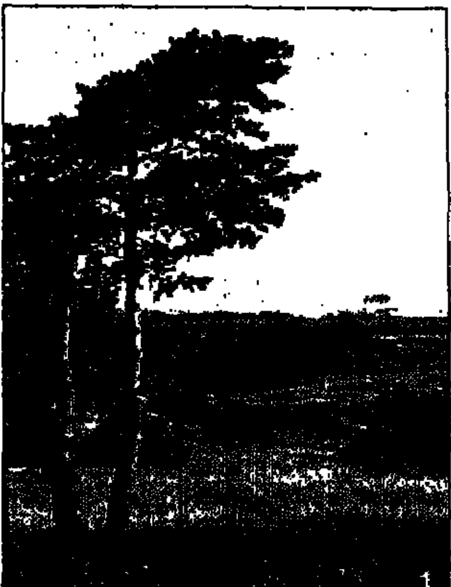
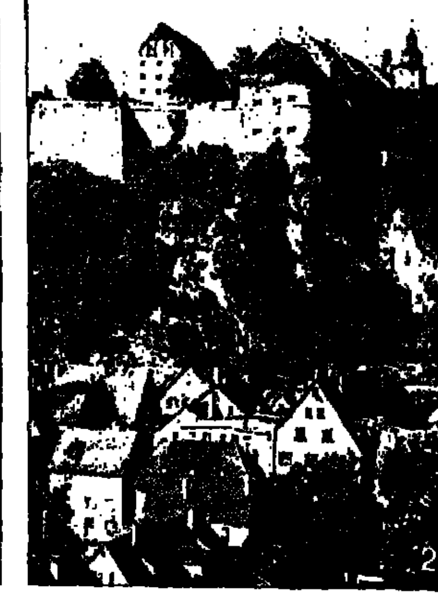














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Uneasy feelings about life in a single Euro market

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Is the Federal Republic of Germany the promised land, the land the Bible tells us is flowing with milk and honey? Is it, in modern parlance, a country where deutschemarks roll and factories work flat out?

This year's economic growth figures and the forecasts for 1989 might tempt anyone to talk in terms of a miniature miracle none of the experts had predicted.

Both exports and the current account surplus have broken all records, and German consumers have done what was expected of them: spent the extra money in their pockets as a result of the tax reform package.

Turnover is brisk, companies are investing, *new markets are being opened* up. Everywhere the Germans are at least in the running, and by no means infrequently making the running.

Politicians pride themselves on the Federal Republic being a rich country. They undeniably lay down the framework conditions and pat themselves on the back when the equation works.

In the final analysis, however, it is businessmen who determine what direction the economic cycle will take, and they are guided partly by market opportunities, *partly by how they feel.*

In the 1960s, when they weren't in the mood to do what the politicians had in mind, SPD Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Karl Schiller coined the phrase "the horses must be made to drink."

The German economy certainly can't be said to be going through a lean period at present. Our reputation as an economic great power is not only unbroken; others readily acknowledge it.

They arguably do so with an ulterior motive. We Germans are expected to be generous along the lines of "those who have a lot have lots to give."

Not for nothing has the Federal Republic emerged as a major port of call for people in the furthest corners of the world who seek refuge from hardship and danger.

They all seem to have heard that life is good in the Federal Republic. After all, we recruited migrant workers by the million in the days when there weren't enough Germans to do the work available.

What is more, German holidaymakers spend tens of billions of marks a year sunning themselves on foreign beaches.

In many parts of Europe the number of German tourists to be reckoned with in the holiday season is an unknown quantity that is no less important than the monsoon in the tropics.

The deutschemark has undoubtedly done Europe a power of good in many respects, and expectations have assumed a further dimension as we are in*creasingly made aware of the single in*ternal market that is to be set up in the European Community from 1993.

The Bonn government can unquestionably forecast, with good reason, that the Federal Republic will derive further economic benefit from the internal market.

The Federal Republic has so far succeeded in holding its own as the No. 1 in Europe and is envied, not to say feared, on account of its predominant position.

But our best friends the French, for instance, have hopes of sharing even more directly in our success and of benefiting from the strength of the German currency.

*With all due respect to stable pur*chasing power they ask themselves — and us — whether currency custodians must really be as touchy as the German Bundesbank?

A majority of Germans feel somewhat uneasy when asked what the repercussions of the European internal market may be.

They cannot pinpoint anything specific, recent opinion polls have shown, but there can be no doubt whatever that many Germans suspect they will be ex*pected to share the proceeds of their* hard work.

It doesn't always have to be a matter of marks by the billion. The internal market debate has triggered uncertainty about immaterial welfare provisions.

German workers are being shown with unaccustomed intensity how well off they are in comparison with working people in other European countries.

They are paid higher wages, work shorter hours, have longer holidays and are paid full wages for longer when they *fall ill than people in other member-*countries of the European Community. Conditions vary enormously from one country to the next. The German trade unions are particularly worried what the future may hold in store for *Mitbestimmung* (co-determination), the German model of industrial democracy.

Chancellor Kohl untiringly gives assurances that there will be no sell-out of German welfare provisions, but that tends to make people more suspicious of the (European) shape of things to come.

Their suspicions are heightened by *the way in which employers are given to* mentioning what, from their viewpoint, are the negative repercussions of this material and immaterial prosperity.

Their arguments can be classified under the heading "wage overheads," which actually or allegedly contribute toward the disadvantages of the Federal Republic as an industrial location.

From 1993, the argument runs, competitors in the larger European internal market will make use of these differentials and jeopardise German jobs.

Such *forecasts* are aimed at a *nation* who are arguably more security-conscious than most in Europe, so much so that our neighbours often fail to understand or are amused at this deep-seated need.

From atoms to peace to environmental protection, we Germans have a reputation for being anxious to the brink of hysteria. The rest of the world certainly shows few signs, if any, of being so anxious — even though it might be well-advised to do so.

Besides, millions of Germans will object to being classified as rich. They are keenly *aware of the other side of the coin: the* chill wind of a cold and unfeeling society.

Must people die by the thousand before people's hearts melt and money flows like tears? The poor in Germany are like the prophet in his own country. They count for nothing — or certainly nothing much.

Hans Schmitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 December 1988)

Smash 'n grab. Becker (left) and Jelen win the doubles – and Germany wins the Davis Cup. (Photo: Bongarts)

1988, a golden tennis year for Germany

Germany has won the Davis Cup, symbol of international team tennis supremacy, for the first time ever. The win in the final was a Christmas bonus for tennis fans.

Few had expected the team to beat the highly fancied Swedes on their home patch. (The final was in Göteborg. The competition is played every year and the finalists are decided after a series of preliminary rounds).

The 4-1 win in the best-of-five round came at the end of a year in which German tennis, through Steffi Graf, had already hit the heights.

She won Wimbledon, the top tournament and the only major one still played on grass; she won the Grand Slam, which means winning the Australian, French and American open tournaments as well as Wimbledon in the same year; and she won the gold medal in Seoul when tennis returned to the Olympic Games.

The trouble with Steffi, successor to Martina Navratilova as the world's leading woman player, is that emotions have not been allowed to run too high: her superiority has been too clear for that. Her performance over the year did not trigger the elation that accompanied Boris Beckor's Wimbledon wins.

Yet she has been spared the hot and cold showers of acclamation and rejection the public has handed Boris.

He may have been back on top form *when he won the Masters Tournament in* America, but he must have seen the flagging interest among German tennis fans.

The Davis Cup has changed that. It was unexpected. The Swedes had the best team in the world.

The Germans seemed certain to be

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

■ INTERNATIONAL

Little more than a beginning in Middle East

Only days after Secretary of State Shultz refused to let PLO leader Yasser Arafat enter the United States President Reagan said he had empowered the State Department to "enter into a genuine dialogue with representatives of the PLO."

America has thus reversed a decision that was a cornerstone of its Middle East policy for over 13 years.

In retrospect, several surprising events such as Mr Arafat's visit to Stockholm, the abrupt end to Swedish Premier Carlsson's visit to Paris, the Swedish government's offer to mediate and, not least, Mr Arafat's speech to the UN in Geneva can now be explained.

There are many indications that the wording was still being agreed behind the scenes after the curtain had risen and as the play was being acted out.

Mr Shultz's brusque rebuff of Mr Arafat came as a surprise after the Palestinian National Council had arduously come round to acknowledging in Algiers the UN resolutions that at least indirectly concede Israel's right to exist.

This year, Shultz had toured the Middle East more than once in bids to get the adversaries to talk to each other. He failed mainly due to Israel's intransigence.

Trusting that Washington would not rebuff its one democratic ally in the Middle East, Premier Shamir wagered heavily on his card, too heavily, it seems. The US decision is a political defeat for Israel.

The uprising in the occupied territories has made it clearer to world opinion than many UN resolutions that time cannot be left to answer the Palestine Question.

By taking a tough line against the *intifada* Israel has put even its friends on the horns of a dilemma.

At a time when the West is calling on the socialist states in Vienna to respect human rights, America cannot, with an easy conscience, ignore what is going on in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Then there are the powers'effortd to jointly contain regional hot spots. Mr Shultz, a conscientious man, wanted to leave Mr Bush more than a failed US Middle East policy.

The time is ripe. The old US administration no longer needs to heed pressure by a section of American public opinion; the Bush teamcan say in January that the decision was taken before it took office.

The American opening toward the PLO has brought movement back into the lines of conflict. Where it leads remains to be seen.

Washington is evidently anxious to strengthen moderate opinion within the PLO, forces that are prepared to come to terms with Israel after realising that their Arab "brethren" are not reliable and that the Jewish state cannot be beaten by force of arms or by terrorism.

For 20 years Mr Arafat has shown himself to be a great survivor. We now will see whether he is more than a merely a tactician who has worked a compromise agreeable to the many Palestinian centrifugal forces.

He must now show his mettle as a statesman and cut links with PLO groups that still see terrorism as a way of driving the Jews into the sea.

The Israelis too must show their mettle, and Likud, which emerged from last month's general election as the largest grouping, is at loggerheads.

Its leader, Mr Shamir, takes a line that rules out compromise. He rejects talks with the PLO; would have only talks with Palestinian notables on limited self-government for the occupied territories.

His Labour rival, Foreign Minister Peres, is more flexible. He favours an international conference.

Labour is also divided. But it largely agrees that Israel cannot, on security grounds, simply withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967.

The embarrassing bickering in Jerusalem about coalitions must end quickly. There is probably no alternative to another "government of national unity."

Yet its leeway is limited. Nearly all political leaders, plus an overwhelming majority of Israelis, oppose the grounding of an independent Palestinian state between the Mediterranean and the Jordan valley. Statesmanship will be needed.

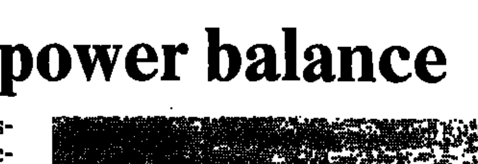
Talk at this early stage of a "historic turning point" could soon be dashed. The American decision to parley with the PLO is, at best, an opening move.

It might just mark the beginning of what, in diplomatic parlance, is called the peace process. But there is no sign yet which road may lead to peace and still less of when and how.

Günther Nonnenmacher

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 December 1988)

A tight-rope walk towards more stable power balance



Events have followed in swift succession: first Mr Gorbachov's spectacular announcement of a unilateral reduction in the number of Soviet tanks, then the Armenian earthquake and, in Germany, the US Air Force Thunderbolt that ploughed into a suburban street in Remscheid.

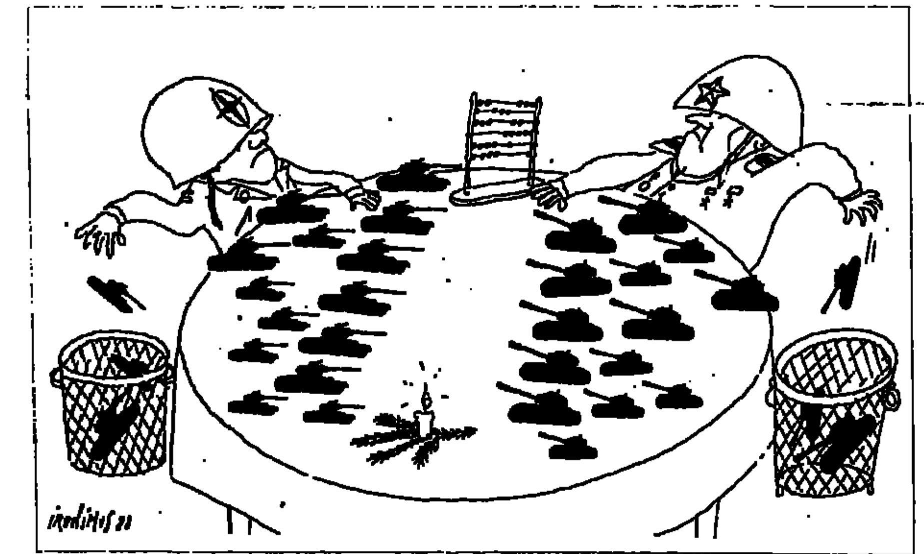
These headline news items have upstaged a move that merits no less attention: the Nato initiative on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Nato's proposal to halve the stockpile of battle tanks in Europe and strike a more stable balance of military power will make no less of a mark on the East-West disarmament dialogue than Mr Gorbachov's speech to the United Nations in New York.

The Western proposals will serve as a basis for discussion in conventional disarmament negotiations that are due to begin early in the New Year.

Mr Gorbachov has acknowledged the principle on which the Western disarmament proposals are based in expressing readiness to reduce Soviet troop strength unilaterally as a downpayment, so to speak.

The argument is that the side which has more arms has more arms to scrap. This powerful Soviet boost to the disarmament dialogue cannot fail to make its mark on the Atlantic alliance.



(Cartoon: Ironimus/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

The sudden change in sentiment, the keynote of confidence, was tangible at the Brussels meeting of Nato Foreign Ministers. The Western alliance is agreed that use must be made of this historic opportunity of disarmament.

Yet no illusions are harboured. The road to a stabler balance of power will be a tight-rope walk.

Western politicians will run a constant risk of either too readily believing declarations of intent or too rigidly holding on to old enemy concepts and missing the opportunity of setting up a stabler peace system in Europe.

Nato is absolutely right in calling on Moscow to do more than withdraw a few tank divisions. Mr Gorbachov's demonstrative disarmament move will only reduce, and not eliminate, the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority.

Nato military experts are absolutely right in noting that the East has yet to slow down the pace of its arms build-up.

Sceptics are absolutely right in warning that the West must not base its long-term security planning on individuals and intentions, which can rapidly change; it must base it on the other side's actual potential. Even so, after Mr Gorbachov's UN speech Nato planners can no longer behave as though nothing had happened and return to the old arms agenda. Western security planning must be made more flexible.

It must be able to adjust to swiftly changing situations and be in a position to apply the brakes even on long-term arms projects that can develop a dangerous dynamism of their own.

Next spring Nato is due to present an overall security and disarmament concept. This new framework cannot afford to ignore the change that has occurred in the political situation that is its starting point.

The United States and Great Britain continue to call for as swift a decision as possible on modernising short-range nuclear weapons, but a growing number of European Nato countries are resisting this pressure and keen to make full use of the political opportunities of arms limitation.

In the wake of Mr Gorbachov's decision to go ahead with unilateral troop cuts it is increasingly difficult to persuade European public opinion of the need to modernise short-range nuclear weapons.

The argument invariably used to be that this was essential in view of the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority, but there is now a fair chance of negotiating a reduction in this dangerous superiority at the conference table.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher thus wants the West to take its time over this tricky and controversial decision, and his chances of gaining Bonn Cabinet approval of this wait-and-see policy are far from poor.

Chancellor Kohl, who had tended to be prepared to agree to missile modernisation, is naturally well aware that a fresh missile modernisation decision might be tantamount to domestic political suicide.

Besides, there is no hurry. The present Lance missiles will not need to be replaced until 1995.

So Nato has two years in which to negotiate with the Warsaw Pact on both conventional troop cuts and short-range nuclear missiles.

A second zero solution — zero short-range weapons — would clearly be in the German interest.

As yet no-one in Bonn has dared to say so out loud. But Herr Genscher seems to be basing his approach on the old axiom of never mentioning a thing but always bearing it in mind.

Thomas Gack

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 December 1988)

The German Tribune

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outplayed. But that is one of the great fascinations of sport: the possibility of the impossible.

The first of the heroes was not Becker but a 21-year-old unknown called Carl-Uwe Steeb who came from two sets down to beat Mats Wilander in the first singles. Becker beat the Wimbledon champion, Sefan Edberg, to put Germany two.

The doubles pairing of Becker and Erich Jelen then beat Edberg and Ander Järryd to make it 3-0.

In the final singles, Becker beat Wilander and Steeb lost to Edberg to make it 4-1.

It was Steeb's opening match, an outstanding one against the highly rated Wilander that fired the enthusiasm. The players' joint determination against all odds gave them the edge. The individual, even Becker, submitted to team discipline — and team effort was what counted.

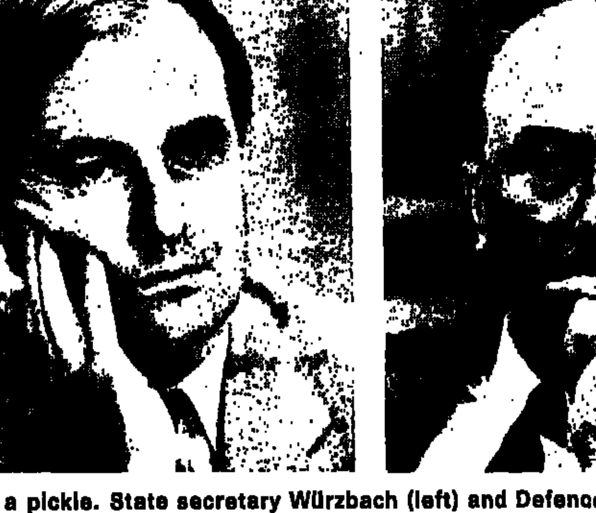
It was an unforgettable moment for anyone who has a sense of the special moment and the special event.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 December 1988)

■ SECURITY POLICY

Row at Defence Ministry over flight ban

A decision to impose a temporary ban on low-level flights by German military aircraft has erupted into a major row in the Bonn Defence Ministry. The decision was taken by a state secretary, Peter-Kurt Würzbach, after an American air-force aircraft crashed in the town of Remscheid this month, killing six people and causing extensive damage to houses. Würzbach was standing in for the Defence Minister, Rupert Scholz, who was in America. Upon his return, Scholz attacked the ban in strong terms. Wurzbach resigned. Jörg Bischoff reports for *Stuttgarter Zeitung*.



What a pickle. State secretary Würzbach (left) and Defence Minister Scholz. (Photos: Sven Simon, Werek))

Seven months after Rupert Scholz took over as Defence Minister in Bonn the Bundeswehr is in the throes of one of its most serious leadership crises since the long, hot summer of 1966 when some generals strongly objected to their civilian superiors.

The reason is the resignation of Peter-Kurt Würzbach as parliamentary state secretary at the Defence Ministry..

Heedless of the public approval of Herr Würzbach's ban on low-altitude flying (after a US fighter crashed in Remscheid, killing six and causing serious damage to property) Herr Scholz has made it clear who is constitutionally in charge of the Bundeswehr and that he is not prepared to tolerate unauthorised moves by his subordinates.

The accusation of unauthorised action must be taken with a pinch of salt. Herr Würzbach may have realised that a German move to placate public opinion was not strictly in line with the Minister's political line, given the need to coordinate moves with the Allies.

But as state secretary he acted on behalf of the Minister in a sector for which he was expressly responsible, and if the Federal government's procedural rules are taken at face value Herr Würzbach can be seen to have secured both political and administrative approval for his move.

He first consulted Wolfgang Schäuble, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office. His conduct could only have been clearly incorrect if he had disregarded a specific instruction by his Minister's. But that has still not been shown.

But the Würzbach affair has more far-reaching aspects. Not for nothing did the Defence Ministry announce at the same time that two other state secretaries were to be sacked: military affairs adviser Lothar Rühl and procurement director Manfred Timmermann.

Their successors have yet to be named, and small wonder. Herr Scholz has in mind what has officially been described as a "thorough reorganisation at the management level" of the Ministry.

If rumours are right, this means scrapping the collective leadership principle introduced by Helmut Schmidt in 1970 along company management lines.

This principle has been retained by Defence Ministers, Social or Christian Democrats. It consists of a powerful Minister backed by a management team of five state secretaries and a number of staff departments.

The system underscores the political character of the leadership by relegating the military from the top level. It also stresses management principles, which are important for the Bundeswehr with a payroll of 700,000.

Yet Scholz does not seem to like it. A general has already been made head of the planning staff, previously a civilian post, and there are many signs that Herr Scholz plans a full-scale reorganisation of his own.

The management he favours appears to be twin heads of civil and military organisation and no separate organisational status at the Ministry for the three branches of the armed forces.

Were Herr Scholz not a constitutional lawyer by profession he might well be tempted to appoint a general as state secretary, which is an idea on which the military have been keen since the Bundeswehr came into being in 1956.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary party is uneasy about events in the Defence Ministry. Herr Scholz may have been given carte blanche by the Chancellor but MPs are afraid that a reorganisation might take the ministry further from parliamentary control than it already is.

On the Ramstein committee and other parliamentary bodies Herr Scholz and his officers have regularly made it clear of late that strict leadership may be to the government's advantage but is invariably accompanied by a loss of parliamentary influence.

Herr Scholz may, for instance, discuss low-altitude flying by military aircraft with US Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci, but not with CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler.

So far Scholz has been able to rely on Chancellor Kohl's backing, which he needs more than any other Minister.

Low-altitude flying, missile modernisation, the new fighter aircraft and far-reaching changes in security policy are problems the proliferation of which would weigh too heavily on the average Minister.

Germans are steadily feeling less threatened and the Defence Minister is daily at loggerheads with Foreign Minister Genscher on disarmament policy.

For a short while it looked as though Scholz had gained the upper hand over Genscher here.

But since Mr Gorbachov's speech to the UN in New York he has, in political terms, been back where a Nato politician belongs, if only in military terms: on the defensive.

Jörg Bischoff

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 December 1988)

Sense of alarm among senior army officers

Senior Bundeswehr officers are worried. The slogan of their 30th commanding officers' conference in Würzburg, Challenge and Change, reflects this sense of alarm.

They need to arrive within Nato, cumbersome in debate in comparison with the Warsaw Pact, at a suitable response to the Soviet disarmament offensive.

They must also counteract the swiftly declining sense of threat among the German public and reinforce sagging readiness to defend the country.

Bundeswehr inspector-general Dieter Wellershoff made it clear that he was worried the trend might gain momentum and a growing number of Germans would abandon the conventional view of security.

This traditional view is, as he sees it, based first and foremost on the sense of shared values in the West and on the fundamental difference between it and the totalitarian communist society of the East Bloc.

Chancellor Kohl's speech in no way departed from the tried and trusted approach of conventional security policy. Its basic tenet might have been quoted from Konrad Adenauer, Federal Chancellor from 1949 to 1963: that the desire for security is a fundamental human need.

It is not enough, however, to appeal to commanding officers to join forces with political leaders in promoting public awareness of the continued need for defence.

Those who seek to gain confidence, especially that of young people, cannot afford to be caught out fiddling with figures.

Yet even Christian Democrats have noted that the Bundeswehr influenced the debate on extending conscription to 18 months by marshalling incomplete or erroneous statistics of numbers of conscript manpower in the years ahead.

Suddenly no-one is denying any more that over 400,000 conscripts were never drafted and are now unlikely ever to be called up because of their age. That can hardly be called fair.

Behind closed doors a topic that keenly interested the commanding officers was whether the Chancellor agrees and may postpone the lengthening of conscription.

A mere "if possible" in connection with the Bundeswehr's peacetime manpower would be enough to fuel rumours and trigger hopes.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 14 December 1988)

Cause of jet disaster still unknown

Remscheid, near Cologne, is in mourning. The pall of smoke has receded after the US Thunderbolt crashed in a densely-populated suburb, wreaking havoc along an entire street.

But no-one yet has the least idea why it had to happen. Sorrow is accompanied by perplexity and powerless rage and anger.

The ruins are rapidly being cleared, but the settlement of political claims is slow going and could well never succeed.

The debate on the extent to which military training flights are necessary has resurfaced with a vengeance. The argument over low-altitude flying threatens to assume the proportion of an irreconcilable clash of political creeds in which supporters and opponents vilify each other.

Understandable though violent emotions may be after the Remscheid catastrophe, major political decisions can hardly be reached in such a heated atmosphere.

They must surely include a decision on the future of low-altitude flying in the Federal Republic, a decision that must reconcile what is military desirable with what is politically acceptable.

The Defence Ministry announcement that low-altitude flying is to be resumed in the New Year sounds a hard-nosed, hard-hearted note when rescue teams are still risking life and limb in the search for further victims.

Top military men in Bonn and the capitals of other leading Nato countries will urge the resumption of low-altitude flights over Germany.

Their argument has for years been that practice must be gained where the action is likely to be in the event of hostilities. True enough, defending the country, always assuming it is considered politically desirable, makes no sense without an air force.

An air force that is unable to exercise is a waste of money, so ways must be found of logging flight hours and gaining practice without being an unbearable danger or nuisance to the people who are to be protected.

Neither resounding election campaign slogans nor pig-headed insistence on being in right are likely to solve this dilemma.

The Ramstein crash is reason enough for a reappraisal. We must part company with the idea that in complying with military requests politicians are only doing what is in the best interests of the public.

We must part company with the idea that whatever other Nato countries do in Germany is invariably in our best interest.

Solving the problems this presents will be extremely difficult and time-consuming. It is doubtful whether Bonn's partners in Nato, especially the United States, have any intention of discussing the matter.

They, after all, would have to part company with established privileges if existing arrangements were amended. So Bonn can expect to face tough disputes.

The most important initial consideration is to find out the cause of the accident. Blaming the pilot, who died in the crash, is not enough. Perplexity must not be allowed to turn into hatred.

Hans Wolff

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 10 December 1988)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Land Premier quits after party votes against him

Powers of persuasion . . . Bernhard Vogel. (Photo: Sven Simon)

A *Land* Premier has resigned after deciding that the party had given him a vote of no confidence. Bernhard Vogel, who has headed a Christian Democrat government in Rhineland-Palatinate for 12 years, was not re-elected party chairman at the party conference. He decided he could not hold one job and not the other. Vogel, whose brother, Hans-Jochen, is oddly enough leader of the Social Democrats, is regarded as an intellectual politician. Among his achievements was to develop a comprehensive aid programme for Ruanda, in Africa. His policies in education and economic affairs are widely regarded as successful. So why has he gone? *Heinrich Halbig looks at the career of Vogel and at the origins of the hurdle which lowered him. He wrote the story for the Cologne daily, Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger.*

Rhineland-Palatinate Premier Bernhard Vogel has made a significant gesture at the end of his interrupted political career.

He has freed a former terrorist, Manfred Grashof, once a member of the Red Army Faction, who had served 11 years of a life sentence on charges of having been an accessory to murder.. The decision has caused a lot of controversy — but Vogel was sticking to principles.

Grashof is the second terrorist Vogel has freed. As in the case of his Klaus Jünschke, another RAF member who was released earlier in the year, he wanted to give a clear signal in the controversy about the reintegration of former political fanatics who have admitted the error of their ways.

A typical gesture for the bachelor Bernhard Vogel, who has been a CDU politician in Rhineland-Palatinate for over 21 years.

His passionate enthusiasm and powers of persuasion have been a lot of help for the region, famous for its vineyards and forests.

His achievements will be remembered even more than those of his predecessor, Helmut Kohl, who held the post for seven years.

When asked how long he would remain Premier, he used to say: "Longer than Kohl and shorter than Altmeier." Vogel goes after 12 years. Altmeier managed more than 21.

His still jovial demeanour cannot hide the pain inflicted at the CDU conference where he failed to obtain a majority of votes as party chairman.

It was this which persuaded him to resign as Premier. He had intended staying in office "a bit longer", and could have done so until 1991.

But he regards his decision as correct. "You can't have one without the other," he frequently remarked.

During his official farewell he repeated that : "This *Land* cannot tolerate a Premier on standby."

He also stressed that politicians should not cling to power at all costs *and added that* "one's own *credibility* must not be damaged and — more important still — priority must be given to the public interest."

During his period as Education Minister from 1967 to 1976, he made a *name for himself by abolishing the denominational* schools and fostering a reform of the educational system.

The private universities of Trier and Kaiserslautern were founded.

The far-sightedness he showed at the *beginning* of his *political* career *gave* way to an aloofness later on. He gradually lost touch with political realities and failed to grasp party grass-roots upheavals, especially after the election setback in 1987 when the CDU lost its absolute majority and had to enter a coalition with the FDP.

Many of the 76,000 CDU members in the *Land* ignored the fact that Vogel had helped make this region one of the most economically powerful in Germany.

They only saw the cheeky FDP leading the CDU up the garden path with their ideas on local government electoral rights and the three-per-cent clause.

Vogel's problems first surfaced visibly after the 1987 *Land* election. His advisers apparently did very little to warn him.

He blamed district CDU branches rather than himself. He didn't hear the rank-and-file mumblings. His bid to salvage something by nominating a business manager as a link between grass roots and executive was the beginning of the end.

But the political decline of this intellectual politician, who was strongly influenced by the Heidelberg professor Dolf Sternberger ("a liberal intellect in the best sense of the word"), began much earlier.

Vogel can pride himself on successes in economic affairs and education and his commitment to the development aid by *the Rhineland-Palatinate* for the small African country of Ruanda or his anti-abortionist campaigning.

But there were the crises: the huge financial losses of the Deutsche Anlage-Leasing (DAL) company, the embroilment of individual Cabinet members in the party funding scandal, the glycol-in-wine affair, the pilot cable TV project in Ludwigshafen, which was praised as the "media policy big bang" but born only after many labour pains, and the gradual impoverishment of the wine-growers and farmers, left sitting on their produce after above-average harvests.

There was a loss of authority, shown

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Objected to demonstration . . . Thea Bock. (Photo: dpa)

Greens politician washes hands of local branch

One of the Greens' most popular politicians has quit her local party in protest. Thea Bock, 50, a member of the Green-Alternative List (GAL) in Hamburg and a member of the city's assembly, made her decision after 50 masked demonstrators occupied the Hamburg Town Hall.

The intruders were supporters of the notorious Hafenstrasse campaign (a long-running and sometimes violent and bloody affair in which squatters have taken over some old houses in the port area) and the Red Army Fraction (RAF) terrorist group.

Frau Bock rejected as unacceptable action by some members of her own GAL parliamentary group which, in the town hall foyer, helped the demonstrators.

The lively gymnastics teacher, a former member of the Bundestag, made a name for herself nationwide as a committed environmentalist.

Her resignation (both from the local party — she remains a member of the national Greens — and as an assembly member) signals a serious crisis among the Green-Alternatives in Hamburg.

Like other regional groups, Hamburg's Greens have not been spared the protracted and divisive conflict between the pragmatic realo wing (Frau Bock's wing) and the fundamentalist, or fundi, wing. The fundis are strong in Hamburg.

Well-known fundis such as Thomas Ebermann (a Bundestag MP) and Rainer Trampert come from Hamburg, and the regional party executive in Hamburg has a fundi majority.

One of the main bones of contention between the two factions is that the Realos are willing to cooperate with the SPD, whereas the Fundis advocate absolute opposition.

The GAL in Hamburg hit the headlines mid-November when some of their total of eight city assembly members decided to strike for several hours during a city parliament session — of all days on the occasion of a ceremony marking the *Reichspogromnacht*.

The background to this unusual move was the dispute between the GAL city parliament members (all of whom are women) and the regional executive committee over the rotation of parliamentary seats scheduled for the beginning of next year.

The eight GAL MPs in Hamburg, including Thea Bock, are to be replaced by eight other GAL women.

Admittedly, the executive committee

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■ PERSPECTIVE

Portrait of an ambassador: a coming to grips with unspoken subtleties



German-American relations. The term sounds like a cosy atmosphere of uncomplicated familiarity.

The reality is different. It is a relationship that is often awkward, intricate and full of subtleties.

This is only natural in the case of two such dissimilar partners, which spend so much time professing how much they have in common that they often lack the courage to admit their differences and use them as a stimulant in mutual relations.

Richard Burt, the ambassador of the United States of America in Bonn (he will remain only for a transitional period into the Bush presidential term) has come to realise that such variety is the spice of mature international relations.

At the mature age of 41 himself, Burt is still full of the disciplined restlessness of advanced youth, a restlessness kindled by intellectual passion.

Whenever I meet him an expression used by a friend of mine involuntarily comes to mind: "intellectual sensuality."

Back in the days when Burt was in Washington, first of all in the State Department as Director of "Political and Military Affairs" and then as head of the Europe department, this intellectual passion was channelled into the activities of a typical *in-fighter* of the Washington bureaucracy.

These days are gone. An interview with Burt today shows that his three years as ambassador in Bonn have enabled a transition from the bureaucrat to the representative, from the abstract analyst to a man keen on personal contact.

Burt admits that you learn to detect the subtle distinctions when you're living and working abroad.

When he first came to Bonn his German hosts, especially in political circles in Bonn with their numerous sardonic tongues, were unable to find any trace of such an ability.

Following the first public appearances of the ardent representative of a self-assured American political generation he was soon rather maliciously nicknamed the American "proconsul."

Criticism in retrospect is pointless. Burt may well have initially translated the keen instinct for promoting a clear-cut image developed during the trench warfare in Washington to his new field of activity in Bonn.

What is more, the hothouse Bonn almost invites every *aficionado* to engage in political caballing.

A portrait of Burt, however, must be viewed against the background of growing European sensitivities.

In Germany this finds its expression in the form of a unique psychological *mélang*.

Burt's years in office coincide with two predominant new developments. Europe is beginning to gradually rid itself of its timidity towards the United States.

Reflex responses to respective initiatives in Washington are a thing of the past. This is accompanied by an emancipation from the often self-inflicted idea of "Eurosclerosis", the emancipation from "Europessimism" to the vision of 1992. This transformation has played a major part in changing Burt's way of thinking.

His understanding for German problems and thus for European problems too has grown.

He is full of praise for German industrial management. No cheap recommendations to the Germans to blindly emulate the optimism and agility of the Americans. That's not Burt's style.

He diplomatically warns against "thoughtless comparisons" and insists that "no country is a model for another."

He feels that the interplay between trade unions and management together with the quality of training for skilled labour have helped ensure the unique success of the German system.

Due to its export orientation German industry was ready for internationalism at a time when the USA still succumbed *to the temptation of concentrating on its* own enormous market.

Yet Burt is worried about the risk of a trend towards a new European isolationism when he thinks of the envisaged single European Community market at *the end* of 1992.

The American-Canadian free trade zone, the Pacific Basin, and the European Community should not be turned into "three fortresses" all too carelessly buttressed by protectionist subsidies.

At this future point of intersection Burt's expertise in security policy matters issues a word of admonition:

"If Europe and America should stand facing one another as two trading blocs it is difficult to imagine how we will be able at the same time to improve our security relations."

Complacent populism in the USA and parochialism in Europe: in Burt's opinion, the Scylla and Charybdis on the path to the future.

Exchanging analyses with Richard Burt is like a kind of sport — no matter how involved you get in the subject you never end up in the forecourt of any factory of *angst*.

What about the German *angst* problem anyway? Here, Burt's former pugnacious spirit and his experience with the media come into their own.

He sticks to his general verdict: many media in Germany live off a "collective industry of *angst*."

"One need only compare the cover stories of international magazines, which all deal with today's problems, with the succession of cover stories in comparable German publications.

"In the Federal Republic of Germany problems of the threat to the environment, nuclear war, Aids, the danger of too many foreigners etc., prevail."

Admittedly, German history in the 20th century may serve as an explanation for a West German leaning towards pessimism.

But Burt, is not satisfied with this interpretation. He feels many media reinforce latent tendencies here.

His remarks are almost vehement on this point, just like his complaints about the damage by this "industry of *angst*" to a country he has come to understand and respect.

On this score Burt's views probably concur with those held by the Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

It is interesting to see how Burt's ensuing recommendation — if that's the right word — to the Germans contrasts with the recommendation made by his ambassadorial predecessor in Bonn, the *unforgettable Arthur Burns*.

When he left Bonn at the age of 82 Burns urged the Germans to "work more."

He expressed his concern at the signs of saturation and plain laziness he believed *to have encountered in Germany*.

Richard Burt, on the other hand, encourages Germans to "relax more", to rid themselves of the obsession of having to solve every problem, to free themselves from the tension of exaggerated *angst*, and to avoid succumbing to the temptation of perfectionism.

Psychologists would probably find an extremely interesting field of comparative research if they were to take stock of the insights gathered by these two ambassadors with their fundamentally different characters and temperaments.

Richard Burt, he will only remain ambassador in Bonn for a transitional period at the beginning of the presidential term of George Bush.

It already looks as if the question of whether he will find a place in the Bush team has been answered.

There has been no phone-call from the White House, and Burt will probably try his luck in American industry, where competent interpreters of international relations are always wanted.

He categorically refused to comment on a report by one news agency that he has already signed an agreement to work for a New York investment company.

This refusal — or so it would seem — is his tribute to the customs of diplomacy.

It is probably also an act of consideration for his wife Gahl, who would have to start thinking about what life in New York would mean as opposed to the hoped-for return to friends in Washington.



'Intellectual sensuality' . . . Richard Burt. (Photo: Sven Simon)

No matter how it may be disguised, Richard Burt will retain his interest and involvement in the subject of security policy.

Burt has felt confronted by a number of German "riddles" in this field recently.

The "sovereignty" discussion in the wake of the Ramstein air show tragedy, which tries to infer a limitation of German *sovereignty from the collective* agreements between alliance partners, is one.

The discussion has triggered a lot of resentment and animosity.

Burt points out that sovereignty means a country's ability to protect its vital interests in the world.

He finds the current debate "a little bizarre", since it seems to stand the foundations of sovereignty on their head.

He also views the question of nuclear weapons in a different light to many German analysts who are seeking an alternative to the strategy of deterrence.

Explaining the American position he emphasises that "we do not want to repeat the Second World War with an even worse aftermath."

This makes continuing protection by US soldiers dependent on the condition that a nuclear peacekeeping element complements forward defence and the strategy of flexible response.

And what about the West's common stance vis-à-vis Gorbachov?

Burt feels that there should be more discussion in the alliance about the meaningfulness and purpose of loans.

Aren't Soviet decision-making constraints compelling them to shift economic resources from the military to the consumption sector undermined by western generosity?

Burt feels that the lack of comprehensive and non-affective discussions on this question in the *Federal Republic* of Germany is due to the lack of a "neo-conservative voice" in intellectual dialogue.

In his opinion, conservatism in Germany still suffers — without good reason — from historical discrediting.

This *produces discussions with* a clear non-conservative bias.

It is a good thing that Richard Burt has grasped the subtleties of the unspoken in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This is a major step towards under*standing this country, and an important* prerequisite for the management of political relations. *Thomas Kielinger*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 2 December 1988)

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discovered that almost all the successors belong to the Realo wing, and wanted to delay the rotation of individual city parliament members who belonged to the Fundi wing.

The committee dropped these plans following the strike. An open letter by Professor Eva Brandes, one of the envisaged successors who also left the party a few weeks ago, is a bitter document on the state of the GAL.

In her letter *Frau Brandes criticised* among other things the fact that the climate in the GAL is "full of hatred" and that open discussion is no longer possible.

She referred to "theatres of war" marked by malicious insinuation and bias. She claims that a clique of officials try to make people holding other views look ridiculous in a "highly arrogant manner" by stupid remarks, not answering questions at all or rebuking them.

Frau Bock's greatest success was her campaign against the big Hamburg-based Böhringer chemicals company, which had to close down after chemical pollution on an appalling scale was discovered.

She does not intend saying goodbye to politics altogether. She will remain a member of the Greens national organisation, but has turned her back once and for all on the Hamburg GAL. *Thomas Wolgast*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 December 1988)

■ FINANCE

Round and round goes the Uruguay Round as hopes of freer trade decline

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The major powers are shaping up for a continuing process of disarmament in the hope that the world will become a safer place.

It is a pity that the industrialised and developing countries cannot pursue should their own form of disarmament — by dismantling customs barriers and other trade hindrances.

This would not only help international prosperity but also produce a more even spread of riches throughout the world.

Hopes that trade policy during the next few years might be marked by the kind of zest, tenacity and willingness to compromise as in the field of military disarmament have, for the time being at least, been dashed.

The signatories of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt), which gathered in Montreal at the beginning of *December, missed their goal by a long* way.

The achievements of the Uruguay Round (named after the venue of the first meeting), whose medium-term objective was a significant improvement in the structures of world trade by the end of 1990, are pretty meagre.

Even though the two main Gatt rivals, US Secretary of State George Shultz and President of the European Community Commission Jacques Delors, were on very amicable terms in Brussels shortly before the adjournment in Montreal a solution to the crisis is not in sight.

The prospects for a greater liberalisation of world trade have become more gloomy.

Nonetheless, there is a positive aspect to the events in Montreal.

The responsible politicians from over one hundred nations were obliged to listen to the problems of their fellow Gatt members for four days in succession.

Although they must know by now where the problems lie, where the obstacles are insurmountable, and where there is room for compromise many of them probably view the overall situation more clearly following the Montreal gathering.

Many will be more aware of the risks involved in the event of a failure to negotiate new multilateral regulations.

Montreal was a foretaste of what might happen if the Uruguay Round breaks down altogether.

The notion of organising world trade on equal and fair terms for all would pale into insignificance.

Bilateral arrangements between individual countries or blocs, at the expense of third countries, would gain the upper hand.

The number of trade barriers would increase to the detriment of all nations.

The trade officials from Gatt members states have scheduled the next meeting for the first week in April in Geneva.

No government has declared that it is no longer interested in the Uruguay Round or that is intends going it alone.

In fact, all member countries have reaffirmed their desire to promote negotiations and conclude them by the end of 1990.

But it won't be easy to overcome the disappointment over what happened (or didn't happen) in Montreal.

Above all, the major industrialised countries must now take a close and critical look at their stance.

In Montreal the Japanese showed a striking restraint, whereas the United States and the Europeans clashed head-on.

Once again, it is difficult to understand why this happened and how the agricultural policy dispute was able to dominate the entire negotiations.

Trade in agricultural produce only accounts for a minor share of world trade.

For Americans and Europeans in Montreal, however, nothing seemed more important than protecting the interests of their respective agricultural sectors. Onlookers must have gained the impression that the world is indeed topsy-turvy.

The demand by the USA for a step-by-step reduction of foreign trade protection and export subsidisation in the farming sector is fundamentally justified.

Americans, however, failed to acknowledge the changes which have already occurred in this field in Europe during the past years.

The surpluses in the European Community have been reduced, and there has been a clear scaling down of the share of agricultural spending in the total European budget.

Admittedly, there's still a long way to go before anywhere near free trade prevails in European agricultural policy (the same applies, incidentally, to American agricultural policy).

The doggedness with which the European Community defended its system of subsidies in Montreal showed how remote any liberalisation still is.

This wouldn't be so bad if the conflict were to remain limited to the agricultural sector.

The interim assessment of Gatt achievement during the Uruguay Round, however, showed all too depressingly that this is not the case.

Here, too, it was the Americans who called the tune. For them everything remains in the balance until the farm policy problem has been resolved.

Strange as it may seem, this also turns the USA into a spokesman for many developing countries.

After all, the industrialised countries have made some pretty far-reaching demands.

They hope that more free trade in the services sector — this includes banks, insurances, consultancy services and telecommunciations — will enable an extension of activities in the Third World.

Their demand for "protection of intellectual property" moves along the same lines. It is understandable that developing countries expect some kind of service in return.

A relaxation of stipulations for agricultural exports is one answer, but this is where barriers are particularly high — especially in the European Community.

The way in which the European Community rejected such liberalisation in Montreal was quite simply shameful.

How and where are the developing countries expected to earn the foreign exchange they so urgently need?

After Montreal the second half of the Uruguay Round begins under more difficult circumstances.

It remains to be seen whether negotiations finally lead to the much-needed process of disarmament in the field of trade policy.

Heinz Murmann
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 December 1988)

Group of Seven to try and make the snail go faster

The Finance Ministers and central bank heads of the group of the seven major industrialised countries — the USA, Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Canada and Italy — will meet at the end of February or the beginning of March 1989.

The French Finance Minister, Pierre Bérégovy, whose idea it was, expressed his desire for a renewed meeting of the Group of Seven to Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg when these two politicians last met.

Stoltenberg was taken by the suggestion and immediately named the main subjects which he felt should be discussed during such a meeting: the development of international exchange rates and the international debt crisis.

The question is, however, are the Seven at all in a position to exert an influence on the currency and debt crises to achieve the results they desire?

Experience since 1985 has shown that to a limited extent they are.

The situation on foreign exchange markets has improved since the Seven put their heads together over economic policy problems.

The G 7, therefore, as the Group of Seven is often called, has had a beneficial albeit not optimal effect.

The name G 7 sounds like some secret organisation or an anti-terrorist squad. (GSG7 is the name of the federal anti-terror unit in Germany).

But it is no more than the same round of countries which has been attending world economic summits since 1975. People first started talking about the then incomplete group after the US Treasury Secretary invited his colleagues *and the heads of the central banks of* France, Britain, Japan and Germany to a meeting in the New Plaza Hotel.

The tremendous budget deficits, which had caused interest rates and the dollar exchange rate to soar, had upset the balance of the world economy.

America's imports became less and less expensive (a development which also proved beneficial to German industry) and reached a scale which got protectionists in American firms and trade unions really worried.

US exporters found it increasingly difficult to sell their products.

In view of these problems the Americans realised for the first time in autumn *1985 that they cannot disregard their* links to the outside world.

During another meeting in the Plaza on 22 September, 1985, the Five (Canada and Italy joined later) came up with a list of what they felt was needed.

The Americans should cut their budget deficit, the Germans and the British should stimulate their economies by means of tax reductions, the French should remove all barriers to the free movement of capital, and the Japanese should open up their markets much more than they had done in the *past.*

It was hoped that this would push down interest rates, lower demand for dollars and gradually pull the dollar exchange rate down to an acceptable level.

The impact of this announcement together with the direct influence on the dollar exchange rate caused by the selling of dollars by central banks (above all, by the German and Japanese central banks) accelerated the dollar's downward trend, which had already begun in February 1985.

Seventeen months later, on 22 February, 1987, an act of strength was needed in the other direction.

The dollar had fallen from a value of DM3.47 to DM1.82 since February 1985.

What was needed now was a move to prevent it from falling any further.

This time the Finance Ministers and heads of central banks from six major industrialised countries — Canada was now a member of the group — convened in the Paris Louvre.

They reached agreement on a strategy containing the following elements: inflation-free economic growth; greater efforts in the fight against protectionism; in deficit countries domestic demand must grow more slowly than GNP — in surplus countries vice-versa; industrialised countries should open up or keep open their markets for products exported by highly indebted developing countries; and the newly industrialising *countries in Asia were called upon* to dismantle their trade barriers and revalue their currencies.

The public was not told about the exchange rate thresholds triggering dollar buying agreed on between the governments and the central banks.

This would have paved the way for some very lucrative speculation.

The G 7 usually meets once in April and once in September, This year's September meeting resembled a dry skiing course, since the Americans were on the verge of presidential elections.

This is why an extraordinary meeting is justified following the election of George Bush as the new US President.

The Seven cannot turn the world upside down. They cannot stop pursuing national economic goals.

All governments are still more strongly motivated by self-interest than world economic harmony.

This is why the call for a coordinated economic policy with a system of exact

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■ THE WORKFORCE

An unorthodox approach to job creation proposed

Rheinischer Merkur

Ask Regensburg theologian and sociologist Lothar Schneider why he as a priest worries about work schedules and you are likely to get a provocative answer.

"If Jesus were to return to Earth today," he is on record as saying, "he would hardly ask whether the acolytes at Mass were boys or girls. He would say: 'I was out of work and what did you do for me?'"

Professor Schneider, 50, is well aware of the problems of modern industrial society. At the weekend he spends his spare time working as a chaplain next door to the Bayer works in Leverkusen, his home town.

During the week he teaches Christian sociology at Regensburg University. He holds degrees in both theology and economics.

When Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm suggested the "swinging four-day week" as a means of making fresh headway against unemployment he was referring to an idea of Professor Schneider's.

His proposal to decouple the individual's working week from his firm's working week could hardly be easier to outline.

Staff work a nine-hour day four days a week, while the firm works a six-day week, including Saturday, with Sunday a day off for the entire payroll.

So staff will work a 36-hour week and the firm a 54-hour week. Professor Schneider outlines his proposal in detail in his new book *Soziale Vernetzung* (Social Networks), published by Pustet Verlag, Regensburg.

"Otto and Gerd used to work at the same machine five days a week. They worked a 40-hour week from Monday to Friday.

"Otto now works from Monday to Thursday, but nine hours a day, totalling a 36-hour week.

"On Friday and Saturday his place is taken by Karl-Heinz, a newly-hired workmate.

"Gerd works from Wednesday to Saturday this week. His place is taken by Karl-Heinz, the new man, on Monday and Tuesday. "So two existing jobs are shared by three men, and the firm works a nine-hour day six days a week."

This idea could net a company higher profits even if full wages continued to be paid, as a glance at the cost factors involved in making, say, a car will readily show.

Despite the high hourly wage-rates in the Federal Republic of Germany labour accounts for only 17 per cent of the unit cost of a car.

This is a result of rationalisation and has led to overheads, such as the works and machinery, accounting for 70 per cent.

The cost of materials has declined to a mere 13 per cent, leaving little or no leeway for further savings.

A firm that introduces the "swinging four-day week" will find unit labour costs increasing by half to 25.5 per cent due to three people working instead of two.

But overheads are cut by a third because the works and machinery are used 54 hours a week instead of 38. So overheads as a proportion of unit costs decline to 47 per cent.

Material costs are unchanged, but the three factors combined total 85.5 per cent, or a nominal saving of 14.5 per cent.

Professor Schneider devised this idea six years ago and a number of companies in the Federal Republic already use it in one way or another

A four-day week on full pay was recently introduced at the new BMW works in Regensburg. Local IG Metall union officials say it resulted in the creation of about 800 new jobs.

The works council lists the benefits staff have gained as follows:

- They have an extra day off work a week, or the equivalent of an extra annual holiday.
- They travel to and from work once less per week. Assuming they average half an hour there and half an hour back, that is a further hour's leisure a week, not to mention the stress and the cost of motor fuel, vehicle depreciation and so on.
- As their morning break and free time (for making telephone calls or running short errands), a further 27 minutes, count as work, they actually work only 8 hours 18 minutes a day.

That is no more than many people already work, bearing overtime in mind.

In return BMW's Regensburg labour force work on two Saturdays in three. Is that too much of a sacrifice to demand to fight the scourge of unemployment?

Alluding to the trade union slogan "On Saturday Daddy belongs to me," Professor Schneider provocatively asks:

"Is it not better for Daddy to go to work on the occasional Saturday than for him to spend the entire week out of work?"

Once every three weeks BMW staff have a five-day weekend, which opens up entirely new leisure vistas. What is more, they regularly have two free days a week in which to do errands, make use of further education facilities or find more time for the family.

As Sunday is always free and work ends at 3 p.m. on Saturday Professor Schneider feels social life is not given too short shrift.

"Not working on Sunday is as much a matter of course for me as a priest as it is for me as a sociologist," he says.

"People need a *jour fixe*, a day on which they can meet each other. There can hardly be any disputing that."



What would Jesus have said? . . . asks Lother Schneider. (Photo: dpa)

What is more, Sunday even gains in importance a little; it is the day of rest around which the remainder of the working week revolves.

This model devised by the Leverkusen chaplain obviously won't fit all jobs, but there is no reason why it should.

The German working population numbers about 26 million. If flexitime were only to create an extra four million jobs there would be full employment.

Yet the "swinging four-day week" isn't feasible in large firms only, as might be imagined.

Even hairdressers might find it worth their while to open on Mondays, while many a plumber or electrician would be delighted by the customer response if they were to work on Saturdays again.

Professor Schneider feels his model could create jobs on an almost miraculous scale, and he recalls the Biblical call to do penance at Advent.

The New Testament Greek word *metanoite* is usually rendered as doing penance; literally it means "think again."

With the ardour of a young chaplain he asks: "Why not, indeed?" What we need is a rethink. New ideas and new solutions are called for; it is no longer enough to merely repeat the accepted viewpoint of 20 or 30 years ago.

He adds, in his weekday guise as a sociology don:

"The centre of all creative activity is mankind. This vantage point has one decisive prerequisite.

"It is not primarily cash, subsidies or tax reform. What is needed is something typically human: a flexible approach."

Theo Mönch-Tegeder
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 2 December 1988)

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in the attempt to appoint Wilhelm to the Cabinet. The damage to Vogel's image was obvious.

His successor and close friend, Carl-Ludwig Wagner, described the Vogel era as a "period of good development and decisive progress." He praised Vogel for his "inspiration, vigour, far-sightedness and commitment."

Will Wagner do better? Will he be a mere caretaker?

Vogel made a point of not giving him any advice: "I do not intend binding him in any way." But he did say he hoped Wagner would continue where he left off in one field: "I do not want Ruanda to suffer as a result of the change in Mainz."

As chairman of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Vogel maintained that he has not been unable to help Ruanda as much as he has done as Premier.

Vogel's remark that he has absolutely no intention of becoming a regional party conference delegate and is only interested in helping out at district level indicated how deep-rooted the resentment of the embittered man, who will be 56 on 19 December, really is.

Heinrich Halbig
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 3 December 1988)

■ MOTORING

A solar-powered flounder hits 80 mph on the way from Berlin



It looks like a table-tennis table, says Maria Buchheimer, a supermarket cashier.

No, more like a flounder, says Elfi Zaun, a waitress at the local inn. She should know: she serves them.

They are talking about Michael Trykowski's solarpowered car which is an occasional sight on the streets of Möhrendorf, Bavaria.

Whenever Trykowski, an architect, drives through the village in it, unsuspecting pedestrians stop and gape and children whoop for joy.

He doesn't do so very often, partly because he uses a temporary registration plate. But he is, after all, the reigning world champion.

He and the two environment-friendly electric motors of his solarmobile were first past the post in this year's Tour de Sol in Switzerland.

That makes him an attraction in his home village near Erlangen, idyllically located between the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, the Regnitz (a river) and the autobahn.

He ranks alongside the village's famous 11th century church and its refurbished *Rathaus*, lined with window boxes of geraniums.

Even Möhrendorf's mayor, Karl Lindner, is delighted to feel the village has an alternative energy pioneer among its residents.

Farmer Hans Oberberger is more straightforward. "I feel it's great that the solar guy lives in our village," he says.

Callers at his Office of Energy-Conscious and Biological Construction are at times asked by his secretary to wait for a moment: "He's busy changing his batteries."

That's a "What's My Line" sort of activity, typical of solar power aficionados.

As he explains, when there isn't enough sunshine to recharge them his 10 heavy car batteries have to be taken out and plugged into an electric power point for recharging.

In September he toured the country, driving from Berlin to Saarbrücken at up to 130kph (80mph). On the autobahn, fellow-motorists were taken completely aback and switched on their flashing emergency lights.

In the evening, at autobahn service stations, people invariably asked him how a solar-powered car can still run after dark.

The answer came as a disappointment to many of them. His rooftop solar panels merely recharge the batteries.

When there isn't enough sunlight they simply have to be recharged at the nearest power point in the normal way.

"It does you good to feel your tank is being refilled as you go," he told motorists at the fuel pumps in the filling station forecourt.

He had used a mere 2.3 kilowatt hours of electric power from Berlin to Saarbrücken, which corresponded to 0.26 litres of conventional fuel per 100km, or roughly 1,000 miles per gallon.

"They simply shook their heads in disbelief," he recalls.

Yet solar power isn't that easy. His car runs on power fed straight from the solar panels, but at no more than 30kph (20mph), and only in bright and uninterrupted sunlight.

To be of any practical use, he says, a car must run regardless of the sun. So the best idea is to fit solar panels to the garage roof and recharge the batteries in this way.

The solar-powered car of the future will thus be an ordinary battery-run car.

Where solar panels on his garage roof are concerned, Trykowski is in an ecological quandary, much to his neighbours' amusement. He may have to choose between solar power and trees.

As befits an ecologically-oriented architect he has built his "experimental" house entirely of natural materials and clad it with as much greenery as possible. This greenery is now in the way of potential solar panels.

Faced with the choice, he has decided in favour of his trees. "What would it look like if I were to start felling them?" he asks.

He is well aware that he is not just a local hero in Möhrendorf. He is seen as a solar power guru throughout Central Franconia. Jürgen, Hans and Bernd, his visitors on the evening of our interview, are three of his followers. Jürgen, 25, is a fitter and plans to design and make a solar-powered car of his own. Hans used to be more militant, as he puts it, demonstrating against Wackersdorf (the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant) and for Greenpeace and the like.



World champion Trykowsky and vehicle.
(Photo: Arno Makowsky)

Now, he says, rocking in the rocking chair in Trykowski's study as he makes his point, he prefers to do something constructive.

Trykowski serves lukewarm tea and sugar candy. Then he and his three solar soulmates talk shop — about Biral motors, energy dosers, expensive batteries, three-phase current and the Kevlar sandwich system, which has five times the tensile strength of steel.

Bernd eventually gets round to the nitty gritty: hard cash. "If only sponsors would come up with more of it!" he says.

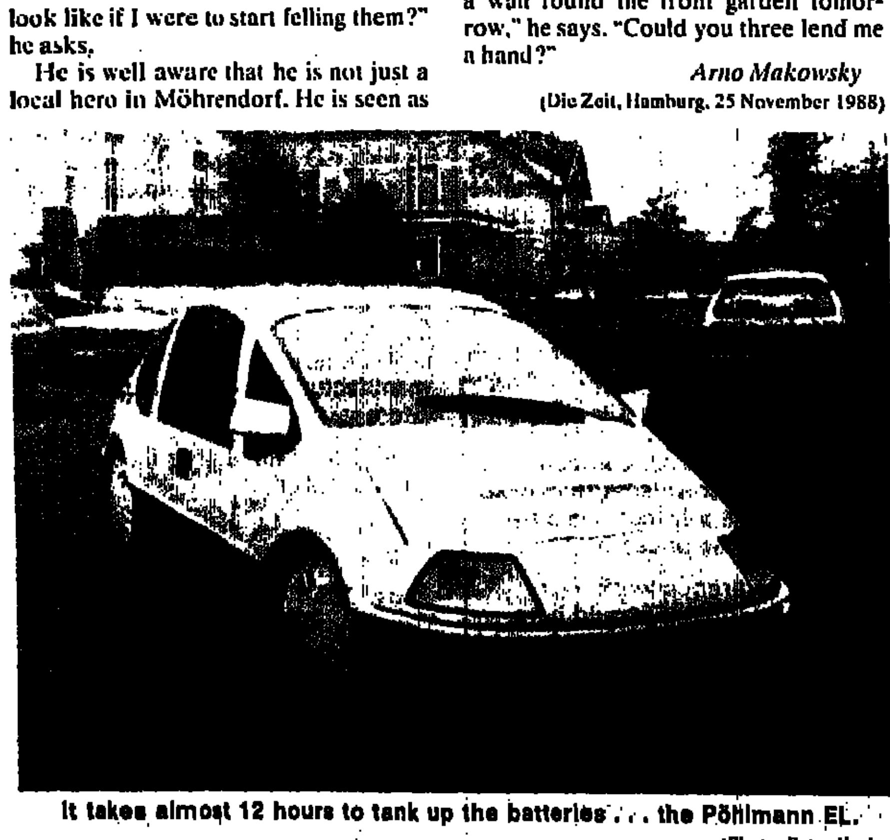
If they did Michael Trykowski would give up designing organic homes with turf-clad roofs for environment-conscious, well-heeled clients. He would concentrate entirely on making solar-powered cars.

At present he earns DM40,000 a year in sponsorship money from TV and battery advertising on his car. That, he say, is hardly enough to pay for the material.

He and his fellow-pioneers have visions of a long run of solar cars designed and made by themselves. But they would need at least DM1m in capital.

That is a long-term objective. Trykowski refills their teacups and points out of the window. "I simply must build a wall round the front garden tomorrow," he says. "Could you three lend me a hand?"

Arno Makowsky
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 25 November 1988)



It takes almost 12 hours to tank up the batteries . . . the Pöhlmann EL.
(Photo: Peter Kreler)

Continued from page 6

regulation is a utopian illusion, which would only lead to disappointment.

Yet a form of cooperation in which no partner is forced into a situation which runs contrary to its understandable self-interest is an absolute necessity.

Obervers may sometimes smile at the snail's pace at which results are achieved.

Those directly concerned, such as the people in the highly indebted developing countries, may even sometimes lose their patience when confronted with the cumbersome way in which sovereign states negotiate with each one another.

International economic cooperation can and needs to be improved. In our imperfect world, however, there is no alternative.

Rudolf Herlt
(Die Welt, Bonn, 6 December 1988)

Not a hint of a drifting hydrocarbon

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

A streamlined experimental car wends its way noiselessly and with not a whiff of exhaust fumes through city traffic in Oldenburg, near Bremen.

The Pöhlmann EL, backed by the power utility PreussenElektra, is powered by two electric motors fed by conventional lead batteries.

As a hand-made prototype it is nowhere near the stage at which series production might be envisaged, but it could well be the shape of things to come.

Its twin motors, each powering a rear wheel, between them generate 26 kilowatts, or 35 DIN horse power.

The car's main power source is an 80-volt battery weighing 580kg (1,276lb), which is nearly half the car's unladen weight of 1,380kg (3,306lb).

The Pöhlmann EL is 3.77 metres (12ft 5in) long, 1.62 metres (5ft 4in) wide and 1.30 metres (4ft 4in) tall.

Its top speed is 115kph (72mph). It accelerates from a standing start to 50kph (30mph) in 11 and to 80kph (50mph) in 27 seconds.

It isn't inexpensive. The prototype cost DM60,000 to make.

It can be run for about 60km (38 miles) in city traffic before its battery needs recharging. It covers 100km of city streets on about 35 kilowatts, costing roughly seven marks. But a recharge takes time: 10 to 12 hours.

These crucial drawbacks — the limited range and the time it takes to recharge the battery — seriously restrict the car's uses.

Battery-powered cars are clearly suited for short-range local use where lengthy intervals lie between each use, allowing time to recharge the battery.

In conurbations they could make a substantial contribution toward noise abatement and atmospheric pollution, PreussenElektra say.

Research and development will need to concentrate on powerful batteries if a viable alternative to vehicles run on conventional motor fuel is to be available in the 1990s.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 5 December 1988)

■ THE AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY

Jousting with the unknown: singular mission of the high-flying test pilot

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The twin propellers whir gently. The altimeter needle points to a steady 500 metres. The other instruments are more or less motionless. Test pilot Uli Schell is at the controls.

Holding the joystick steady with one hand, he says: "Right, then, we'll finish off with a spin."

He jerks the joystick toward him, the little plane surges skyward and the instruments shake, rattle and roll.

The plane slowly goes into a corkscrew spin and gathers speed. Its wingtips whizz past, mere outlines. The view from the cockpit alternates madly between sky and ground.

The altimeter needle plummets: to 300 metres, to 200 metres. Suddenly the two-seater plane is back on an even keel and the pilot sits there as though nothing had happened.

Nothing has. Going into a spin may be a disaster for most pilots; for him it is just part of the day's work.

He is one of roughly 300 who test fly aircraft ranging from small private planes and heavyweight jumbos to combat fighters and bombers.

They take planes to the limit of their capacity — and a little beyond, says Peter Weger, who test flies combat aircraft.

In the wake of air show accidents in which low-flying planes have crashed into the crowd their profession is arguably controversial.

There is a tangible link between test flying aircraft and aerobatics, or formation flying. In both cases pilots take the aircraft to the limit of its capacity.

Test pilots stress that they know their own limits. Jets may be deliberately flown into dangerous manoeuvres and crashes almost simulated — but planes are skilfully righted at the last minute.

Yet no matter how experienced a pilot is, every test is a test of the pilot's nerves. He flies an aircraft that has never taken off before and takes it to limits "the ordinary pilot will never again reach," as Schell puts it.

It certainly makes the profession an exclusive one. In Britain, the stronghold of present-day test flying, they have their own exclusive club, the Society of Experimental Test Pilots.

They revel in memories of famous predecessors such as Charles A. Lindbergh or Jacqueline Cochrane, the first woman in the world to fly at Mach 2, twice the speed of sound.

Only a handful of Germans are honorary members of this august body. They include Hans-Werner Lerche, 74, the author of a book about his experiences as a World War II test pilot.

He wrote: "At Rechling, there was a funeral once a fortnight, on average."

Schell says things have changed since those days. It is no longer the "daring young men in their flying machines."

Despite its nerve-racking nature test flying aircraft is, in his view, a safe job. "We belong to a new generation." He is 32, an age at which Lerche had already retired.

He started on the smallest of scales: with model aircraft. "It's the best training you can get," he says, defending his old hobby against critics' guffaws.

"You can experiment as much as you want without having to request official permission and without running a risk.

"If your plane crashes it is, if the worst comes to the worst, a write-off. But that is all."

Besides, the laws of physics apply irrespective of dimensions. "What is true of a scale model is equally true of a jumbo."

Yet the controls of a model aircraft, complete with antenna, are no substitute for the feeling of soaring high above the clouds.

He gained his first flying experience as a 19-year-old glider pilot, followed by motorised gliders and small private aircraft. For five years he has test-flown them for a Bavarian manufacturer.

He spends over half his working day at his desk, looking out over the black asphalt of the runway. His paperwork includes writing to the authorities as part of licence application procedures.

"Mere pen-pushing," he snorts, preferring to think about the more pleasant part of his working day.

He logs three hours flying per day. "Adding the finishing touches to prototypes is the icing on the cake," he says. It is also the quintessence of the test pilot's job.

He clambers into the cockpit of a featherweight plastic-fuselaged aircraft wearing his parachute and helmet. His place will later be taken by executives or politicians in pinstriped suits or learner-pilots and their instructors.

As a test pilot his job is to manoeuvre himself and the test plane into a dangerous situation. "Otherwise you don't know how to get out of it again."

How, for instance, does the plane react when the joystick is pulled too energetically or the prototype is taken into a flat spin?

The engineers have worked it all out in theory on the drawing-board. He tests it in practice. "You can't do anything without putting a plane through its paces," he says.

"Technicians may feel they can calculate or similar everything nowadays, but you can't; there are simply too many unknown quantities."

Are they unknown quantities of which he is afraid? "No!" he says without hesitation. "When the cover's down and I'm belted up I function like clockwork."

Anxiety is irrational and a sentiment test pilots cannot afford. They are are taught to assess risks.

He logs 600 hours a year. His qualifications are sound, too. He studied mechanical engineering, trained as a pilot, logged flying hours and attended courses at the German Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR).

That is a thorough grounding. "With a track record like mine," he says, "you ought to pass your test pilot's licence."

Views are split down the middle on this point. His licence isn't enough to qualify him as a military test pilot, for instance.

Their training takes longer, is more complicated and costs more. They call themselves experimental test pilots (in English), as against the home-grown and post-war variety, with no formal qualifications.

Or so says Peter Weger, chief test pilot with an aircraft manufacturer who does international defence contract work.

Combat aircraft are his business. He heads a team of seven test pilots. They, he says, "make up over half the really serious test pilots in the Federal Republic."

What he means by serious is pilots who test fly combat jets or jumbos, by which he doesn't mean to belittle the work of the remaining 250 civilian test pilots, "but there *are* differences."

There are indeed. Weger and his colleagues are all ex-Bundeswehr pilots. "How else could we log 1,800 hours flying jet-engined combat aircraft?"

This experience is one of four prerequisites for the job. The others are technical studies, a diploma from an internationally acknowledged test pilots' training college (of which there are four in Europe, and not one in Germany) and a civil aviation board test.

That all costs money: DM1.3m a year, Weger says. Pilots whose training is paid for by their employer or by the Bundeswehr can count themselves lucky.

Richard Calwer, 44, also sees himself as one of the select band of "serious," i.e. military test pilots.

He has steel-grey hair, first flew at 21, went to training college at 35 — and "will be out on my ear at 55," he adds with a smile.

That is what makes the work so schizophrenic. "On the one hand, the older and more experienced a test pilot is, the more he is worth; on the other he needs to be as fit as a fiddle."

Pilots take annual medicals, and they are extremely thorough. Medical specialists send them through pressure chambers and expose them to oxygen starvation.

"Physical fitness is vital when you're on your own up there," Weger says.

Nowadays no jumbo or military jet test pilot is entirely alone, however. As soon as he clambers on board, belts up his orange overalls and dons his helmet and oxygen mask he can be sure he is under total surveillance.

Telemetry is the buzzword that takes much of the erstwhile magic out of test flying. In real time everything that happens during the test flight is automatically relayed to the ground station.

Over 20 engineers there man computer workstations, keep an eye on monitor screens and analyse the data. After the test flight the computer knows more than the test pilot — and is the final authority in aero engineering today.

"Even so," Calwer says, "they can't make decisions for me down there." If he has spiralled so steeply that air intake into the jets grinds to a halt and the engines stall, handy hints from the control panel at operations centre are not much use.

"It's suddenly very quiet up there and I know I shall have to have reached a decision within 20 seconds, otherwise the ejector seat will be the only option left open to me."

So far he has always come up with something or other.

Peter Schmidt
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 December 1988)

■ JEWS IN GERMANY

A look into the fascination and tragedy of the recent and the distant past

The air is full of the smell of glühwein, gingerbread and fried sausage.

Earthly hosts push their way through the narrow alleyways between the stalls.

The Nuremberg Frauenkirche towers above the stands with their red-white canvas rooves.

Its illuminated Gothic facade gives the whole place a proper Christmas atmosphere.

Once again, it's *Christkindlmarkt* time in Nuremberg, time for the city's traditional Christmas market. It was Emperor Karl IV who made this spectacle possible back in the 14th century.

After inciting a pogrom of the Jews he ordered the Jewish quarter and the synagogue to be pulled down and replaced the area with the main market square and the Frauenkirche.



Giacomo Joyce, by Paul Wunderlich; Rendsburg Jewish museum (Photo: Catalogue)

There are still other historical sights in the city of the Meistersingers, once called the "*treasure chest of the German* Reich."

Not only the famous castle or the Dürer House, but also — outside of the city's medieval core — the Zeppelin Tribune, the Congress Hall *and the Grosse Strasse*: stone remnants of Nazi delusions of grandeur.

The exhibition in the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg is called "Look, the Stone Cries out of the Wall."

The tombstone of the Jew Yechiel, which stonemasons cut as a triangle shortly after the pogrom of 1349 and then used as a step for the spiral staircase of the Lorenz Church, is presented as a symbol for this saying by the prophet Habakkuk in the Old Testament.

The 50th anniversary of the Reichskristallnacht was the immediate cause for a desire to inform the public about the "History and Culture of Jews in Bavaria."

The section at the front of the exhibition shows just how difficult it is to present the history of the Jews in Germany.

Large black-and-white photos document the development "From the Deprivation of Rights to Extermination."

The first photo shows a Jewish lawyer being pushed through the streets of Munich by uniformed Nazis in 1933.

The shorn and barefoot man with cut-off trousers has a sign hanging around his neck: "I shall never again complain to the police."

The lawyer had tried to bring his influence to bear to help a Jewish client.

Another photo shows the situation at the end of the war, in 1945: emaciated corpses in the Kaufering concentration camp near Landsberg.

In this purgatory the visitor to the exhibition soon realises that German Jewry no longer exists.

About 30,000 Jews still live in the Federal Republic of Germany, about as many as lived in Frankfurt in 1933.

They cannot pick up their pre-war tradition and have to seek a new identity.

The treasures of the exhibition of religious and cultural items are part of this fascinating world of the past: the octagonal almemar (= pulpit) of the Veitshöchheim synagogue, marvellously embellished prayer books, and rattles for the Purim celebration.

The impact of the exhibition can be best compared with an alternating hot-and-cold shower.

The numerous exhibition items show that 1,000 years of Jewish history in Bavaria cannot be reduced to the twelve horrifying years between 1933 and 1945.

The "Holocaust Room", however, shows how difficult it is to deal with the history of the Jews in Germany.

Three walls are covered with the names of the Jewish victims from Bavaria written in small letters.

The official description of the exhibition's content points out that it deliberately avoids any sensational presentation of horror.

But why? What is the use of showing the trivial finds of the Kaufering concentration camp, cutlery and lampshades?

Herr Höxter, a member of the committee of the Jewish community in the city of Nuremberg (320 people), went through the ordeal of a concentration camp.

He was born in Nuremberg in 1924 and his parents gave him the Christian name Adolf.

Although he welcomes the exhibition he felt that there were too many museum exhibitions and discussions to mark the 50th anniversary of the Reichskristallnacht on 9 November.

He feels that the event should be remembered on a more reasonable scale, but not just every 50 years.

He even went so far as to claim that if someone wasn't an antisemite before the anniversary he is now.

Ignaz Bubis, the committee chairman of the Jewish *community in Frankfurt*, does not share this opinion.

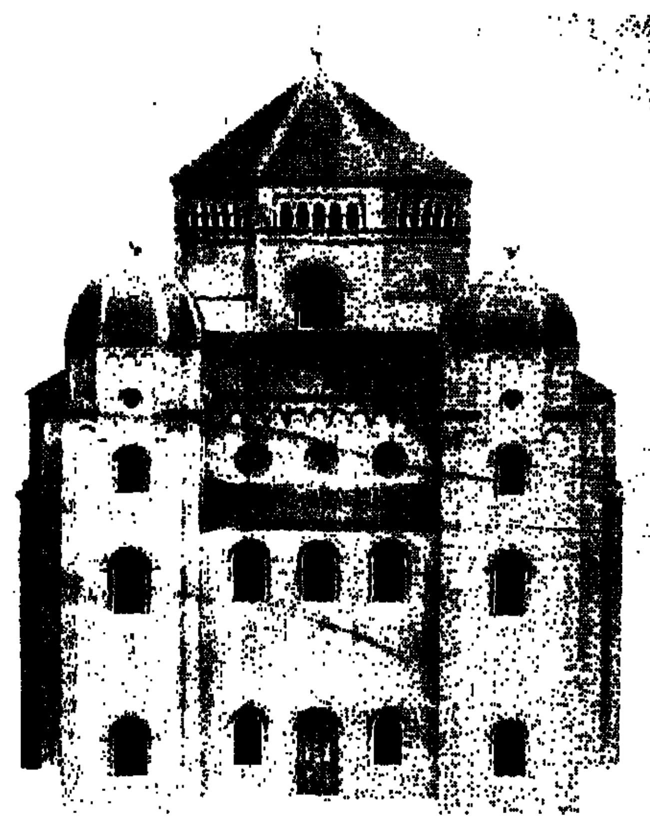
"Anyone who wants antisemitism doesn't need these events," he said.

He hopes that the exhibitions will arouse greater public interest in the small Jewish community.

Although this community is still visible in big cities it has virtually disappeared altogether in rural areas.

Particularly in Frankfurt this kind of public knowledge is important.

During the conflict over the Börneplatz, a dispute about whether to preserve the excavated remains of the medieval Judengasse or let this area be steamrollered by the city department of works for new housing, Hesse Prime Minister Walter Wallmann claimed that the ghetto is no "cause for shame." The memory of the scandal surrounding the play by Rainer Werner Fassbinder which was allegedly antisemitic is still fresh. Information, therefore, is useful. It is all the more astonishing that the first Jewish museum in the Federal Republic of Germany has only just been opened in Frankfurt. In the classical Rothschild Palace the idea is to present the history of the Frankfurt Jews "as a paradigm for the history of the German Jews" (the words of museum director Georg Heuberger). Ignaz Bubis critically remarked that there was perhaps "too much polish" in the exhibi*tion, without failing to mention that* some of his own donations are on display.



Model of the Dresden synagogue, by Gottfried Semper; at the German Museum of Architecture, Frankfurt (Photo: Catalogue)

In the foyer there are some interest*ing architectonic items in marble, brass* and high-grade steel.

An almost ten-metre-long wooden model of the medieval Judengasse (Jew's alley) gives a good idea of how cramped life was in this ghetto.

Because the houses couldn't be built any higher (they weren't allowed to be extended anyway) the rooms were split down the middle to create new dwelling space. All no cause for shame . . .

This, however, is virtually the only visual impression.

Otherwise, the exhibition resembles a wall news-sheet: lots of documents with facts and figures but not enough exhibits which visually present the events of the past.

One sheet informs visitors of the fate of the children of Abraham in the city of Frankfurt: almost all Jews murdered in 1241; made responsible for the plague in 1348; sent to the ghetto in 1462.

But why does the museum bombard visitors with dry historical facts when they first come in only to let them re-



cover on the second floor in the room *depicting the ahistorical folklore of* "Jewish Life."

Religious services in the synagogues are just as significant in the historical context as pogroms. *Wedding celebrations and* persecution often went hand in hand.

Isn't the museum dangerous for the Jews living in Frankfurt today?

Aren't meetings between living people much more important?

One accusation is that the exhibition turns Jewry into a dead culture.

Michael Friedmann, cultural representative of the Jewish community, admits that knowledge about Jewish tradition has often been neglected because of excessive coverage of the holocaust.

He adds, however, that Jewish identity does not have its roots in antisemitism.

Friedmann estimates that between ten to fifteen per cent of the 5,000 members of the Jewish community in Frankfurt are "actively religious."

"In our kindergarten and in our schools we pass on *religious* and cultural knowledge with aim of bringing up self-confident Jews.

"Whether someone wants to live de*voutly or not is a decision the commun*ity accepts."

Friedmann emphasises that the Jews are definitely German citizens.

The fact that a big leftwing-liberal daily newspaper called for a more intensive *German*-Jewish dialogue following the controversial Jenninger speech says a great deal about public awareness in this respect.

In Friedmann's opinion, "language yet again reveals insensitive thinking."

The exhibition on the architecture of the synagogues shows just how complex Jewish identity is.

The German Museum of Architecture in Frankfurt mainly displays the plans and drafts of Jewish places of worship in the German-speaking area.

In some cases, the drafts completed by the architects could have been just as easily used for building a church.

On the other hand, there was an attempt to use the Moorish style to contrast the synagogues with the Christian churches — polychrome masonry on the outside, arabesque ornaments on the inside (for example, as in the Berlin synagogue in the Oranienburger Strasse).

The representative splendour of the synagogues built during the late 19th century was a reaction to centuries of repression during which the places of worship had to be kept architectonically plain. Yet another dialectical development.

It's a shame that this exhibition is tailored to the interests of the educated classes.

Visitors are expected to bring along a lot of prior knowledge if they wish to understand the significance of many of *the items*.

The biblical prescript not to create an image of God or man (2. Moses, 20,4), for example, is a key point of orienta*tion for the fine arts of the Jews*.

The synagogue in Rendsburg is not much higher than the low houses surrounding it.

After 1938 a smokehouse desecrated the destroyed prayer room. Since 1985

Continued on page 11

■ DANCE

Balletomania over on the sunny side of the street

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The Frankfurt ballet company is dancing on the sunny side of the *street*.

William Forsythe and his ballet company manager, Martin Steinhoff, have negotiated a contract with the city of Frank*furt which is unrivalled in Germany.*

From the 1990/91 season, both will take on the job of director for a period of six years, a move which guarantees the ballet *company's complete* independence from opera and theatre.

Ballet is then placed under the direct responsibility of the mayor of Frankfurt, Wolfram Brück, and the head of the city's culture department, Hilmar Hoffmann.

The new contract, which the municipal authorities will approve in the near future, promises to give the company more money and four more permanent positions as dancers in addition to the 40 which already exist.

A further novelty is the prospect of a contract between the cities of Frankfurt and Paris, according to which the Frankfurt ballet company will make a two-month guest appearance at the renovated Théatre du Chatelet for four consecutive years beginning in 1990.

During this two-month period it is hoped that the ballet-group will piece together a new production per season and then include this in the Frankfurt repertoire.

Martin Steinhoff on this aspect: "You can only develop artistically if you travel, but constant travel can also be a tremendous strain.

"What we want is to, as it were, institutionalise our international contact with the help of the Paris project."

A presentation of the Paris performances at the big festivals in Montpellier and Avignon is also being considered.

Until these plans materialise, however, the Frankfurt ballet company continues to travel throughout the world.

In spring next year it's off to America for a six-week tour, and the destination is South America in the following year.

Furthermore, there are already invitations to visit Brussels, Vienna and Israel.

The most interesting project of the coming season is a Forsythe retrospective between 23 September and 1 October in Reggio Emilia, with a philosophy symposium and, of course, plenty of *dancing*.

During this event the New York City Ballet will be dancing choreographies written by Forsythe.

Forsythe has fostered particularly close contact to this world-famous company since last May and was in demand as their future director.

He *composed* a *half*-hour sequence for a choreography marathon, and this piece was the opener to the Frankfurt ballet season: "Behind the China Dogs", a *reverential bow to the neo-classical* choreographer George Balanchine.

Five ceramic dogs designed by Cara Perlmann form the only décor as stage background.

Four male and four female dancers — the men wearing black shirts and tight shorts, the women in black-silk corsages with fine-mesh sleeves and stockings — create a square formation across the stage *in perfect symmetry*.

The men form the cornerstones, the women the inner square. The way in which Forsythe breaks up this symmetry is brilliant.

Diagonals and angles emerge from even, then odd, numbers of dancers, solo performers or couples move away from the group, each dancing their own individual-style solos and pas de deux.

In Frankfurt, Forsythe can count on the pot pourri of personalities in his troupe: the long-limbed Nora Kimball dances with the tall Stephen Galloway, their casualness contrasting with the powerful eroticism of the dancers Mayra Rodriguez and Thomas McManus.

Eda Holmes and Christopher Johnson introduce elegance, Dana Caspersen and Carlos Iturrioz rakishness and verve.

Forsythe extends his style of movement, elongating and contorting what master Balanchine would have performed in cold aestheticism.

The small of the dancers' backs acts as a pivot for the extension and wavy movements of their limbs.

It's as if there were an invisible elastic band linking arms and legs across the back, enabling extensions and contractions with tremendous tension.

The result is an excitingly erotic flow of movement, supported by the aggressive *pointed footwear of the female dancers.*

Forsythe equals Hans van Manen in the sensual use he makes of the pointed shoes.

The music, however, tends to retard the dynamics of the dancing (the electronic accompaniment by Leslie Stuck is too unstructured in its rhythmic undulations) and fails to heighten tension.

The background music for the evening's premiere of "The Vile Parody of Address", piano tinkling from Eva Crossman-Hechts and percussion thunder and lightning produced live on stage by the dancer Elizabeth Corbett, really put the brakes on the highly bizarre activity on stage.

Forsythe dug deep in the absurdity cabinet of his subconscious to produce a half-hour Dada show which might have received a better response as an intermezzo piece, but was doomed to failure as the main course.

Forsythe's version of "Vile Parody" places too much emphasis on non-dance aspects.

Language predominates, shouted, squeezed into a commanding tone of voice, verbal snippets read from a black gauze partition between the audience and the dancers on white kitchen chairs.



Looking for a way out of a choreographic nowhere . . . William Forsythe. (Photo: Walter Krantl)

A hermetically sealed no man's land, the site of manifold self-citations, presented by dancers dressed as cockroaches, yellow-gleaming girls and bearded goblins.

Is this a comic strip or the parody of a horror story?

We recognise the abstruse humour of the musical "Isabelle's Dance", the verbal tirades of "Artifact II", the scenes from "LDC", and the revue series of earlier pieces. *In "Vile Parody", however, the* leitmotif is missing.

The sight of Mr Mesa (Leigh Matthews), the conjuror in mustard-yellow *and wearing a top-hat, crouching and* producing a false nose and beard from his hat instead of a rabbit may give rise to laughter.

Or the sight of Irene Klein's lethargic Cockroach Boy, who strolls between the chairs and the curtain to perform his silly solo, arms dangling and eyes rolling.

Some members of the audience may also have found the sexual connotations amusing as rod-like miners' lamps which were hanging down in front of the lasciviously stretched legs of bearded men and women disappeared up dresses.

The fact that "Vile Parody" was too long was not the only reason why this laughter soon get stuck in the throats of the audience.

Fräulein Professor Dr. Ashufi (Kathleen Fitzgerald), obviously a domina of psychoanalysis, talked of a vacuum and of the latent visions of another person and of what it is like to lie in a grave.

Forsythe must have despairingly sought a form of presentation for all these set pieces, which lead to a choreographic nowhere.

The latent visions merged to create a parody — a parody of self-citation. Realising this fact, and bearing in mind the considerable communication problems of the performers on stage, "Vile Parody of Address" must rank as Forsythe's most pathetic piece.

It may lead him out of the impasse and may even be good for the company, but is certainly isn't for the audience, which it plunges into destructive confusion.

The third piece of the three-piece evening, however, Amanda Miller's highly dynamic "Pretty Ugly", provided *some relief*.

Amanda Miller, a dancer in Forsythe's company and a regular choreographer in the ensemble, has become *more daring in comparison with past* works.

Peter Scherer and Arto Lindsey, avant-garde composers from New York, wrote the spirited and lively music and played a decisive role in this successful contemporary genre presentation.

Four men (Douglas Becker, David Kern, Thomas McManus and Michael Schumacher), each a bundle of energy in casual street dress, together with a Lady in Red (Hilde Koch), dressed in an elegant lining, ensnare each other in front of five diagonally erected pillars.

What they do to each other is crude, coarse and brutal.

Amanda Miller allowed refreshing spontaneity to reign in their movements, which were strongly influenced by the now fully developed Frankfurt style.

Swinging, kicking and walking at a breath-taking pace into new formations, stretching in unrestrained sensuality.

Life pulsates in "Pretty Ugly", raw and untamed as in the streets of New York at night, which probably inspired the choreographer.

Many of the transitions could have been more homogeneous, many of the movements more independent.

Nevertheless, Amanda Miller will undoubtedly go far.

What she has to show is definitely more exciting than a great deal of what is highly praised in other ballet companies.

The new constellation in Frankfurt will hopefully create a climate of quiet *creativity*.

The fans are already queuing up. The ballet evenings are sold out.

The audience waits with bated breath *for the new Forsythe premiere, the* "Libeskind Letters", which Forsythe dedicates to the American architect he holds in such high esteem.

Eva-Elisabeth Fischer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 November 1988)

Continued from page 10

the Rendsburg Cultural Circle has used the building as a meeting place for exhibitions and concerts.

In the lower floor there is a small permanent exhibition on the history of the Jewish community in Schleswig-Holstein.

Since November the Torah school has housed a Jewish museum.

Visitors can see the works of (in some cases very famous) persecuted Jewish artists of the modern *period: Josef Hebroni*, Anita Rés, Max Liebermann . . .

These more or less well-known artists, however, are not kept in a ghetto of "victims". *Alongside them there are* works by Christian artists on Jewish subjects: Paul Wunderlich on the Song of Songs, Conrad Felixmüller . . . In an accompanying catalogue to the Frankfurt Museum Cilly Kugelmann stresses the im*portance of this sense of community* between Jews and Christians. "The more the German people placed itself under the heavy burden of guilt the more the former victims were idealised as exaggeratedly just . . . Their significance to German society was reduced to their role as victims of the Nazis." It is obvious that this makes it extremely difficult for Jews to find a new identity. Twelve years cast their shadow over their past and present. Jews also need museums which show more than just the holocaust.

Johannes Schweikle

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 11 December 1988)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Children speak out about the revolution



If it were up to them, German schoolchildren would abolish money and war. All cars would be battery-run and smoking would be prohibited.

School grades would be scrapped and teachers would have to tell 15 jokes a day. "It could be heaven on earth," they write.

Their interests and wishes were probed by Frankfurt sociologist Klaus Sochatzky as a research project.

Professor Sochatzky, who has held the chair of sociology at Frankfurt University since 1972, evaluated 3,354 school essays entitled: "If it were up to me."

The title was so general that the writers could mention anything they wanted, whatever interested or annoyed them.

Between them they listed 26,128 topics of all kinds. A majority, 14,731 or 56.38 per cent, dealt with society, the state and politics.

Religion and the Church, in contrast, were mentioned a paltry 93 times, or 0.36 per cent.

German and foreign schoolchildren from nearly all categories of school were asked in cities, towns and rural areas to submit essays.

The area covered corresponds to the catchment area of Frankfurt University. The age groups who entered ranged from fourth-grade juniors to 10th-grade secondary school final years. The sheer range of subjects mentioned is striking. Few if any conventional ideas go unscathed. A 16-year-old secondary school student was the odd man out with his:

"I'm not really for anything. I feel everything is fine the way it is."

A 15-year-old comprehensive schoolgirl writes, in contrast:

"Some people are surprised to learn, as I have read, that one in four 15- to 18-year-olds commit suicide for fear of the future and because they feel everything that goes on in the world is bad.

"Adults are to blame. They destroy almost everything. They leave us no opportunity of planning for the future. We are scared. That's why we say: 'No future!'

"Yet I like making plans. They ought at least to leave us a slight chance. If things go on as they are doing, it will be too late."

The main topics raised by the juniors (aged 10 or below) deal with leisure and home life.

They complain of too few and too poor ("boring") playgrounds. They want more play and pedestrian precincts — and cycle tracks that aren't obstructed by parked cars.

Children from high-rise housing estates are particularly allergic to signs such as: "Playing ball games on the grass is prohibited" or "Playing with animals is prohibited."

Where, they ask, are we to go? As a 10-year-old puts it: "If it were up to me there would be lots more animals and football pitches."

Professor Sochatzky feels the almost universal condemnation of school is particularly upsetting. Eighty-five per cent of the essay-writers take a dim view of school.

An 11-year-old boy in a class for the educationally sub-normal puts it in plain words:

"Burn the school down. Burn all books. Send the teachers to the Moon. If a teachers passes you in the street, finish

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Weizsäcker the only politician esteemed by the young

President Richard von Weizsäcker has singlehandedly salvaged something of the reputation of German politicians among young Germans. A survey of 400 boys and girls between 11 and 16 reveals that sportsmen and women, film stars and television stars are the people they look up to. 46 per cent say politicians are people who shoot their mouth off; 44 per cent feel they are corruptible. The compiler of the report says that Weizsäcker was the only politician who was held in any regard. Horst Zimmermann reports for *Hamburger Abendblatt*.

In over 400 interviews Professor Reinhold Bergler, director of the Institute of Psychology at the University of Bonn, has taken a closer look at the life-style of young West Germans between the ages of 11 and 16.

The total findings are due to be published towards the middle of next year.

In an interim appraisal Bergler warns: "Something is brewing. We must come up *with an answer fast. Young people are on* the verge of turning their backs on the state, politics and politicians."

His survey shows that young people are looking for personalities on which to model their behaviour more than ever before. Bergler refers to a "hunger for leadership."

For the youth of today most of these personalities are sports, film and television stars (78 per cent respectively), popstars (77 per cent) and members of the family (62 per cent).

Teachers, parish priests and church leaders were not mentioned at all.

Only 32 per cent of the interviewees listed politicians among their "model personalities".

"Without Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker the result would have been a lot worse," said Bergler.

Bergler feels that a serious discussion is needed in view of the fact that two thirds of the young people interviewed make no reference to the world of politics to find their "ideal personality", since they do consider politicians to be likeable, credible, competent and comprehensible.

He is convinced that a state whose representatives are not regarded as credible by a large part of its youth will be unable to inspire or influence them.

The study suggests that young people are no longer willing to automatically acknowledge the authority of adults simply because of their adult status.

"Young people have rebelled against adults at all times, but this rebellion has changed and intensified because the youth of today has a greater ethical sensitivity and a greater scepticism towards words," Bergler claims in an interpretation of the study's initial findings.

The question why 42 per cent are not at all satisfied or only insufficiently satisfied *with politics produced the following causal* spectrum.

Sixty-five per cent pointed out the lack of training places, and 61 per cent the numerous prohibitions and the lack of rights for young people.

46 per cent regard politicians as persons who "shout their mouths off" and 44 per cent feel that they are corruptible.

And as many as 17 per cent felt that the Federal Republic of Germany cannot be called a "proper democracy."

In Bergler's opinion a key aspect is the number of prohibitions. Many young people have the impression that they are surrounded by rules and regulations.

As in the eyes of youth Bonn represents the machinery establishing these rules and regulations there is a growing rejection of politics and politicians.

Politicians are viewed as persons who want to spoil the fun young people would like to have. They react aggressively, destructively and with a disenchantment towards the state.

Many young people want to create the freedom they need to develop, if need be by using violence.

Bergler urges the state not to increase the number of rules and regulations but to use the power of persuasion.

It's not enough, for example, to state that smoking can damage your health.

Bergler discovered that young smokers don't think twice about every mark they spend.

They like going out (to the cinema, disco or pub), like to get together with other youngsters to have a chat or celebrate parties, and they like unusual clothing and they like sex.

Non-smokers, on the other hand, prefer sport, television, reading, going for walks. They spend more time playing musical instruments or doing household chores.

Bergler believes that replacing something pleasurable by something unpleasurable is not the right way to persuade adolescents not to smoke. What they need is a positive idea of life as an alternative.

A feature is that, although they exert a regimenting influence on the lives of their children, parents are held in high esteem — as opposed to politicians.

One explanation is that parents are better able to make their children understand why certain things are allowed and others are not.

Horst Zimmermann

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 6 December 1988)

The complicated lovings and longings of the teenage girl

German girls take a dim view of one-night stands. Most have visions of a gradual approach to sexuality, jointly with their partner and in the course of growing affection, trust and confidence.

They would like to have sex in the context of a firm relationship and on the basis of being to talk with each other about anything and everything.

The reality is another matter. The "first time" is usually not only very much more rash and spontaneous than they had envisaged.

Over 50 per cent of teenage girls either use no contraceptive whatever or are unsatisfactorily protected from an unwanted pregnancy when "it" first happens.

These were some of the findings of a survey carried out by Sinus, the Heidelberg-based social research institute, for Schering AG, the Berlin drug (and contraceptive pill) manufacturers.

Five hundred 14- to 20-year-old girls and young women were interviewed. Over half of them said they had not used contraceptives when they first had sex.

Many girls still have serious difficulty in getting hold of the Pill. They are afraid of what their parents will say, let alone the doctor, and prefer to try alternative methods of contraception.

Vaginal suppositories and condoms are such alternatives, but when the occasion arises girls are so worried about the embarrassment they may cause that they either don't use them or fail to use them correctly.

The way in which they experience the "first time" seems, in contrast, to depend on their age and character. The survey subdivides their characters into five categories. They are:

- the "artful teenager," aged 14 on average, guided by her mind rather than her heart and usually one of a large family;
- the "born young girl," usually emotionally-oriented in her views and behaviour, 15 years old on average and from an affectionate and largely carefree family;
- the "partner-cum-comrade," aged 18 to 20, mainly guided by her emotions and from a stable family but taught early to fend for herself;
- the "show-off," a "complete little lady," aged 17 on average and often the only child of a mother who has remarried;
- the "loner," a type less easily defined, even agewise, but often from a single-parent family and with the feeling of being on her own as her hallmark.

The younger girls are, the greater the risk of unwanted pregnancy they run. Sex plays a fairly limited part in their lives and they would sooner bide their time until they are 17 or 18 and have found Mr Right.

But one out of four in the "artful teenager" category have gained sexual experience at the age of 14, usually head over heels and for the most part, in about 7 cases out of 10, unprotected.

Among the "born young girls" a lower percentage have personal experience of first love (in physical terms), but those that do say it was extremely impromptu and usually without contraceptives (contrary to what they had previously hoped).

The survey classifies as "alarmingly high" the number of older girls who were unprotected the "first time." Seven out of 10 "partner-cum-comrades" claimed to have sexual experience.

As a rule they say they discussed matters (whether, when and how) beforehand with their partners, but only about half of them had actually taken reliable contraceptive precautions.

This percentage is a little higher among girls who can be classified as being guided more by the mind than by the heart.

Two out of three girls in the "show-off" category claimed to have had sexual experience, and only one in four was unprotected the "first time."

The other three had done something

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Runaway garbage juggernaut demolishes all barriers

A telltale "A" plate clamped to the bumper of trucks crossing at border posts is a sure sign — another truckload of garbage is bound for somewhere abroad.

Exporting garbage by the truckload is waste disposal the easy way. Environmentalists are up in arms against it, but from 1992 it seems likely to flourish even more.

The European internal market will bring advantages, but for Bonn's waste-disposal policy, it will pose big problems.

Industry and local authorities that find waste disposal in the Federal Republic too expensive because of environmental requirements, will then simply dump their garbage in countries where disposal is least expensive.

Environmental considerations will trail way behind the simple economic equation. Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer has already said he will strictly oppose this practice.

The Federal Republic ships 800,000 tons of domestic and industrial waste a year to East Germany and neighbouring European countries even though the Waste Disposal Act clearly specifies that waste must be disposed of in Germany.

This figure does not even include exports of toxic waste, which have increased sixfold in the past six years to 1.9 million tons a year.

Only at first glance does this appear to be a contradiction in terms. The Waste Disposal Act lays down both rules and exceptions.

Waste may be shipped to another country when suitable dump or incinerator capacity is not available in the Federal Republic, which is unquestionably the case.

We Germans are producing so much waste that our garbage tips will soon be full. The country's 20 high-temperature incinerators for toxic waste are just unable to handle the load.

Even common or garden domestic waste is mounting up too fast for garbage incinerators.

Yet whenever plans to open a new dump are made public, the public, especially nearby residents, object.

Who wants to live near an evil-smelling mountain of garbage consisting of over four million potential chemical compounds and being bombarded daily by the noise of waste disposal trucks?

Unsurprisingly, it takes years before new sites for waste disposal facilities clear the hurdles of planning procedures.

In the meantime, prepare to meet thy doom. The gloomiest experts say the Federal Republic is on the brink of grinding to a halt, immobilising the entire economy, for lack of refuse disposal facilities.

Karl Ley, president of the local authority refuse disposal departments association, painted one such picture at the Entsorga waste disposal trade fair in Essen, saying:

"A civilisation that fails to come to terms with its output of waste will soon cease to exist."

In the world garbage output ratings the Federal Republic of Germany comes sixth, with an annual per capita output of 374 kilograms of domestic waste.

The incredible total, 286 million tons a year, is topped by five million tons of toxic waste from German dustbins, building sites, sewage sludge and industrial effluent, the exact composition of which is seldom known.

Separate collections of glass and waste paper have made a slight dent in the growth rate of domestic waste; but heedless of calls for prevention and recycling the waste mountain can be sure to go on growing.

Soil contaminated by oil or chlorinated hydrocarbons urgently needs incinerating or dumping. Industrial smokestack and power station chimney filters amass growing quantities of increasingly dangerous ash and smoke residue.

Sewage presents similar problems. Ten thousand sewage purification plants may prevent the total biological collapse of rivers and waterways but they also produce 50 million tons of sludge.

Farmers used to be happy to pump trailerloads of sewage sludge onto their fields, but they have grown less keen as the heavy metal count in sewage sludge has increased.

They finally decided to stop doing so when the Environment Ministry published reports on dioxin and furan found in sewage sludge.

Yet now the North Sea conference has decided that no more low-grade acid effluent is to be pumped into the sea from next year 900,000 tons of acid a year must be disposed of in some other way. But how?

Heinrich von Lersner, head of the Environmental Protection Agency (UBA), Berlin, feels shipping waste as far afield as the Third World is often environmental crime in all but name.

"The methods adopted in international waste smuggling are increasingly similar to the ploys used in smuggling arms and narcotics," he says. News headlines certainly seem to bear him out.

Last summer, for instance, 1,500 tons of paint and solvent waste from Baden-Württemberg was shipped to Turkey labelled "ersatz fuel."

A German freighter, the *Karin B.*, was moored for months off ports where she was not allowed to berth because of her cargo of toxic Italian waste.

Politicians and waste disposal experts already see the 1992 deadline with mixed feelings. Europe will rid of internal borders, goods will flow unhindered



by tariffs and other restrictions. That is what the 1987 Single European Act entails.

Waste is classified as merchandise, so even more garbage than before will be shipped by truck or train from one country to another.

Uniform European Community freight papers will specify a recipient and a German official stamp will legalise the transaction.

But Professor Töpfer is convinced that waste cannot be disposed of in an environmentally satisfactory manner all over the European Community.

So he plans to call a halt to this barefaced mode of waste disposal. But how can he do so? If garbage were to be disqualified as general merchandise the term "garbage" would first need to be defined.

What is waste? It might seem an easy question to answer. The answer would certainly need to be uniform and binding all over the Community.

Yet German experts have difficulty in agreeing on a definition of "garbage" in German, and no-one is quite sure how to define "special (i.e. toxic) waste."

Herr von Lersner says garbage is, in legal terms, a chameleon. It defies a clear legal definition.

There would probably be an increase in the number of wrongly specified waste shipments exported as disposal in Germany grew steadily more expensive due to stricter regulations.

The single internal market will provide more than enough loopholes through which to dispose of waste inexpensively. Lawyers may be working flat out at harmonising legal provisions in the 12 member-countries, but it is a labour of Sisyphus.

"I shouldn't think they'll manage to draft uniform European safety regulations in time," Professor Töpfer is on record as having said.

Heat treatment is his solution. Build at least another 10 incinerators for toxic waste and 37 for domestic waste as soon as possible between Flensburg and Munich.

Once these facilities are available, he argues, trade and industry could be statutorily required to send their waste to specific disposal centres.

This has long been the case with domestic garbage. Professor Töpfer feels this plan of action might save the day until such time as uniform provisions have been arranged throughout the European Community.

If German firms are required, in strict compliance with the principle that waste producers are responsible for its disposal, to meet higher waste disposal costs than foreign competitors, then German products will be more expensive and less competitive.

Only one branch of the waste disposal industry can claim to be well prepared for Europe. The German waste disposal industry has concentrated mainly on garbage transport systems.

"Our technology will be a leading export in the 1990s," says Norbert Rethmann of the waste disposal industry association.

A substantial number of firms have specialised in environmental protection technology. The market is large, and so is the possibility of earning handsome profits.

The Germans are well known to have gained a head's start while their competitors in other countries are still in the starting blocks. The Environmental Protection Agency says German legislation leaves the fewest loopholes for offenders.

The Federal Republic's neighbours to the south are said to have much more ground to make good where environmental awareness is concerned. So are the British.

With its new Waste Disposal Act Germany comes top of the class in the European Community, which is why Bonn would like to see the European Commission adopt German standards as a yardstick for European regulations.

But no-one is seriously expecting it to do so. This wishful thinking, Herr von Lersner says, reminds him of the catalytic converter debate.

Ulrich Knorra

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 December 1988)

■ CHILD KIDNAPPINGS

Parents invest in security as experts investigate the imitator syndrome

Many super-rich parents, afraid that their children will be kidnapped, arrange extensive and expensive security programmes. This means that the children are no longer able to play freely with others of the same age. A case that has revived the issue again is that of Patrick Padberg, a 15- month-old boy who was murdered by kidnappers. Horst Zimmermann reports for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt.*

The Padborn case has caused thousands of rich parents to step up security measures for their children. The rising tide of fear means that the police and private security people have their hands full checking security arrangements and designing new ones.

There is reason for worry because the incidence of kidnapping has been climbing over the past few years. And it will continue to increase if, as the police and criminologists reckon, every kidnapping works on the snowball principle and gets bigger. One kidnapping sets off others.

Professor Hans-Joachim Schneider, a Münster criminologist, says: "Kidnapping children is one of those crimes that provokes imitators." The kidnapping does not have to be successful. It just has to happen. Even if the kidnapper makes no money and is caught, imitators follow.

But the effect is much stronger after a successful kidnapping where the money is paid over and the criminal gets away.

The case of Patrick Padberg was the third case of child kidnapping in three months. In September, Grischa Granderath, the five-year-old son of a Düsseldorf electrical equipment wholesaler, was abducted as he was on his way to kindergarten with his mother. The ransom demand of 2.75 million marks was not paid, the boy was freed outside the town of Darmstadt.

At the beginning of October, eight-year-old Dennis Mock, from Bremen, was freed by police after spending 13 days in a tiny room in a holiday house in the country west of Frankfurt. In this case, the mother was not rich. She was destitute, and the Bremen city administration made available the million-mark ransom. After the money was paid over, a special police unit apprehended the kidnapper.

Professor Schneider is convinced that a case in December 1987 unleashed the subsequent cases. Two children of the owner of a chain of drug stores were freed after the father had paid over 10 million marks.

The police only learnt of the case after the children were free again. There has been no trace of the kidnappers. Two weeks before the Patrick Padberg case, a television programme seeking public help for unsolved crime drew attention to this case again.

A similar rash of kidnappings has occurred before, in 1980 when there were four cases inside three months. Two more attempts were halted before they could take place.

The series continued in 1981 with four more cases. Possibly these were ignited by the spectacular Kronzucker case in July 1980 in which the two daughters of a well-known television journalist, Dieter Kronzucker, were abducted in Italy together with the son of a family they knew. The children were returned unharmed after a ransom was paid.

The cost of routine security for the wealthy is high. Many have been regularly threatened, although experience is that, most of the time, the threats come to nothing. *Threats are often macabre attempts to frighten people.*

But sometimes, threats are accompanied by demands. It is not known how often people do concede and pay.

The police aren't even sure that they come to hear about them all. Some wealthy people prefer to pay and keep quiet in the hope of not attracting any more unwelcome attention.

But kidnappers don't send threats first. The threat comes after they have their victim.

Some super rich or supposedly super rich people have been victims. When big name families are involved, security consciousness among other potential victims increases sharply. Their villas are fitted out with electronic wizardry.

High walls are used to prevent any surveillance from outside while, inside, savage dogs roam. Weapons sit in desk drawers and under pillows. Many chauffeurs are trained bodyguards. Policemen occasionally find themselves being offered new jobs in private employ.

Private security advisers and police can provide tailor-made security plans which are similar to advice given for anti-terrorist measures.

Often, the risks from both sources are directed at the same person. That increases the mental strain but reduces the financial strain: prominent figures such as politicians and leaders of industry under *threat from terrorists receive police protection* without paying for it. The protection naturally protects against kidnapping as well.

A person who faces danger from alone a kidnapper gets cost-free police protection *only when a concrete threat has been* made.

Telephone calls where the caller doesn't answer are monitored, changes in the vicinity are observed and movements varied to make them more unpredictable.

The client should not drive to work at the same time every day. Nor should he take the same route. Sometimes, a child should be taken to kindergarten by someone apart from the mother. Inconspicuousness is regarded by experts as the best protection.

But that alone is not enough. Christian Padberg, the father of Patrick, did not live ostentatiously. He was known as a wealthy man only where he lived, although everyone *knew that he was big in the construction business.* A great fuss was not made about it. But the son was kidnapped, all the same.

A BKA (Bundeskriminalamt, equivalent to the CID or FBI) says: "The very rich *have been investing heavily in security* for themselves and their families and it is noticeable that no children from families that are known to be rich have been kidnapped for several years".

The victims' families tend to be people who, while in an emergency could raise a million or more, are not wealthy enough to pay 80,000 marks a year for a bodyguard.

It has been found that children themselves, even as young as 6, are able to do a lot for their own security once the problems have been explained to them.

Sometimes, children notice unusual things before adults. But there are limits to their security if they are not to be prevented *from playing with other children* and losing part of their childhood.

For a long time, there have been more than educational grounds for sending children to international schools a long way away.

One businessman from North Rhine-Westphalia even decided to take his whole family to Switzerland to live because of the number of threats he was receiving.

Police used to say that kidnappers were of low intelligence because, at the latest as the cash was being handed over, they had to leave their cover and give the police the chance to pounce.

That, of course was only valid where *families secretly cooperated with the po*lice and didn't comply with the kidnapper's demands.

The first case to emerge where the police were only told after the ransom had been paid and the kidnapped had been *freed was the case of a 12-year-old doc*tor's daughter and her 13-year-old friend, in 1980.

Since, more and more parents of victims have decided to leave the police out of it. This not only sharply reduces the chances of the criminal being caught; it also reduces the chances of the victim's surviving.

If a kidnapper does not have to deliver credible evidence that a victim is still alive, then there is no reason to allow a possible future witness against him to live.

In addition, police have regulations which clearly lay down that rescuing the victim has priority over arresting the kidnapper.

But sometimes the situation does quickly change to the kidnapper's advantage even when the police are involved — if an intermediary is used who prefers to operate without police cover.

Kidnappings occur more and more often against families who are not well off enough to raise any sort of ransom. In 1971, a seven-year-old called Michael Luhmer was abducted near Bonn. It was the first time the state paid the ransom money for the parents, who were penniless.

Consideration has been made often *over the past few years about making fai*lure to notifiy the police about a kidnapping an offence. But it is difficult to charge people who have acted in an emergency from the best of motives.

There have been accusations by vic*tims that the police have not always acted* professionally. One family said they would never have notified the police if they had known how amateurish their effort would be.

Eleven years ago, the then Interior Minister, Werner Maihofer, raised the idea of setting up a central bureau to handle kidnapping cases at the BKA. But the *Länder* were reluctant to surrender any of their authority. The official reason given for not going ahead was that any central authority would not have enough local knowledge.

But this disadvantage could be overcome by working with local police. The idea of a special unit attached to the BKA has since been often talked about, but nothing has developed.

Kidnapping cases are handled by special commissions which are formed for the purpose by policemen who otherwise might be specialists in murder, theft or *deception. Even the police leadership of*ten have only a theoretical knowledge of kidnapping.

A central bureau would have the advantage of being able to gather practical experience and information just as the special anti-terror unit, *GSG 9*, analyses every terrorist strike world-wide and collects details about methods and systems.

A central unit would demonstrate that the state was able to meet particularly revolting offences with effect.

Such a unit could be a useful proposition, especially if the law were changed so that no law of statutes applied to kidnapping and the file remained open indefinitely, as now with murder.

Today, police investigations are directed principally towards the criminal. The ransom money is secondary. There was a case where a kidnapper served six years in prison and was released on probation, although more than three millon marks in ransom money had not been found.

Because the case was no longer one for the police, the man was able openly to enjoy the fruits of his crime. The three million marks had earned him almost *1,600 marks a day in interest during his* time in prison.

A central unit, backed by the law, would be well placed to make sure that a released kidnapper was not able to use the money. And the deterrent factor would be increased.

Horst Zimmermann
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 2 December 1988)

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about contraception beforehand, usually *having the Pill prescribed.*

They did so by themselves, but often with the help and encouragement of their mothers, who often faced partnership and separation problems of their own and were keen to spare their daughters similar trouble.

They were the mothers who were prepared to help and advise their daughters from an early age — to make sure they didn't "get into trouble."

An interesting marginal finding is that the "show-off" aims to forge a firm relationship and marry early. She may look the "complete little lady" but behind this facade she is guided by traditional ideas on family roles.

She has visions of an older man, more mature and sexually experienced, as a guarantee of material and immaterial support. Sex is her contribution toward the relationship — and the tender trap by which to make sure of a husband.

The gap between contraceptive theory and practice is particularly wide where the "loner" is concerned. Nine out of 10 girls in this category feel contraception is something to be dealt with beforehand.

Yet only 25 per cent of those who have actually had sex with a boy (or man), and they make up 70 per cent of the total, actually took precautions the "first time."

The survey concludes that they feel such a compelling *need for love and re*cognition that they far from infrequently spontaneously agree to sleep with a partner.

As a result, their "first time" is usually not only very disappointing but also, *in many cases,* totally unprotected in terms of contraception.

Irmgard Piorkowski-Wühr
(Mannheimer Morgen, 7 December 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Women want to throw away their muzzles

Whoever does the talking often calls the tune. Women feel that they should have a better chances of putting their points of view.

They would like to have a bigger say in the decision-making processes, whether at local political level, at work or at conferences.

The battle is an uphill one. Women are often muzzled in public discussion, according to an analysis of television talks and interviews.

The analysis was outlined at a conference organised by the Evangelical Academy of Tutzing, in Bavaria, by Professor Senta Trömel-Plötz, a pioneer in the field of feminist linguistics.

The discrimination begins with the presentation of the speakers. The *achievements of the women are dealt* with in less detail than those of the male speakers.

The women are not allowed to talk as often and as long as the males.

Women are interrupted more frequently. *Initial research findings by the* still young branch of feminist linguistics indicate that 96 per cent of all interruptions are made by men — if a woman is talking.

Even high-status women go silent as soon as a male voice butts in. Men, on the other hand, are generally able to prevent an interruption by simply carrying on talking.

They have a greater chance of determining themselves how long they can talk.

It is obvious that under these circumstances a woman finds it more difficult to bring her expertise to bear than her "unimpeded" male partner(s) in the discussion.

Women have to invest more effort to obtain the same amount of talking time than equal-status males, since the men talk when they want to.

Women, however, wait until they are *asked to speak, which is often a very* long time because of the preference given by most TV discussion presenters to their fellow males.

Men belonging to the same parliamentary group, for example, support each other during discussions, whereas male solidarity with female speakers is the exception rather than the rule.

At first glance it may seem rather petty-minded to count all the assentient "hms" in the discussion.

If, however, 75 of the 150 "hms" in a discussion between three women and one man were uttered by women while the man was talking, but only three (!) "hms" were interjected by the man this backs the hypothesis of asymmetrical support for men by women during discussions.

This rhetorical double burden is complemented by the operation of a double standard during the discussion.

Typically *male bad conversational* habits are viewed as an even worse offence if practised by a woman.

If a woman interrupts a man, for example, the latter immediately demands his right to uninterrupted speech, and the *woman generally withdraws with an* apologising smile.

If a woman raises her voice because all the men are talking at the same time this sounds shrill and unpleasant to the male ear.

If she responds to accusations with counter-accusations and if she sticks to her line of argument she is criticised for being self-opinionated and aggressive.

If she refuses to mince her words she is said to be hogging the limelight. If she fails to smile enough she is considered unfriendly. And if she underlines her abilities she is regarded as arrogant.

As a rule, women are partly to blame for producing male superiority by presenting themselves right from the start as persons with a lower status.

Their posture, for example, is often extremely passive. Their arms are kept close to the body as if they had less space. This submissive posture reduces the impact of what they say.

With a smile on their face they are appeasing when sharply criticised, hesitant when asking to be allowed to speak, apologetic when interrupting to say something and friendly to signal that the relational level is in harmony despite differences of opinion.

Their words are generally directed towards a man. If at all, the same behaviour can only be found among males in subordinate positions.

By showing consideration for others women foster understanding and create an atmosphere of mutual respect.

By placing verbal attacks between positive statements or by depersonalising these attacks they take the sting out *of such criticism and make it easier for* their opponents to accept criticism without losing face.

Feminist linguistics is by no means interested in abolishing female strong points.

Yet research findings suggest that wherever power, influence and reputation are at stake in public discussions women are often their own worst enemy because their "virtues" in the art of discussion benefit the men rather than the women themselves.

The question remains: how can this be changed?

After all, a woman who "forgets herself" (and her role) and starts interrupting the men may turn out to just as unsuccessful as a woman who has been silenced because of her role-consistent behaviour.

Just talking without being properly heard and understood is only a partial success.

So women have no choice in future but to continue their rhetorical tightrope walk.

Dorothea Keuler
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 November 1988)

Crisis: Pasha still refuses to touch the vacuum cleaner

Many men still don't think their place is in the kitchen. A survey reveals that this attitude is held by younger men as well as by older ones.

The result is that, even in households where both the man and the woman go out to work (it is irrelevant if they are married or not) friction can develop.

The survey established that, while most young women attach greater importance to career and family, the male rates his own occupation well above domestic chores. The pasha mentality lives on.

This is one of the findings of a study on "Partner Relationships and Family Development" in North Rhine-Westphalia, presented to the public in Düsseldorf on 2 December by the head of the Düsseldorf state chancellery, Klaus Dieter Leister.

The study, which was commissioned by the government of North Rhine-Westphalia and the Krupp Foundation, *was conducted over a period of five* years by the Institute for Demographic Trends and Social Policy at the University of Bielefeld.

The researchers surveyed 3,000 people in the cities of Cologne and Herne as well as in the rural areas of the districts of Kleve and Gütersloh.

The study reveals that the significance of occupational activity for women has increased substantially and that women belonging to the younger generation in particular do not regard having children and careers as alternatives.

Traditional attitudes on the part of the men, on the other hand, only change insofar as they are confronted with the consequences of the occupational activity of their female partners.

The attitude of the women, however, generally changes completely following the birth of their first child and especially after the birth of the second.

In many cases they then drop their occupational activities altogether and identify with the "traditional female role image."

As for the men, their willingness to help tackle household jobs declines ra*pidly after the birth of the first child* at the latest.

Leister drew the conclusion that the compatibility of career and family for mothers and fathers must be improved.

This could be achieved by means of a more liberal and contractually guaranteed choice of working hours and a further improvement in the system of child care outside of the nuclear family.

In addition, the return to working life following upbringing periods must be facilitated by "further training and upgrading during the family phase".

Another important aspect is that women should also given the opportunity to work if they want to.

Leister maintained that the Act Relating to the Employment of Women in the Public Service Sector, which was *recently adopted by the North Rhine*-Westphalian government, was a step in the right direction.

According to the survey, partnerships and marriages are still structured along more traditional lines during the *Eighties* than previously assumed.

Seventy-four per cent of married women who also work on a full-time basis outside the home do most of the household chores alone, and 48 per cent of them have to do without any help on the part of their partners when it comes to cooking, cleaning and ironing.

Nevertheless, there is a clear preference for marriage among young women too.

The majority of women aged between 18 and 30 regard living together as an unmarried couple as no more than a "transitional phase" or a test period.

During the past five years the financial situation of all partnerships surveyed improved considerably.

The monthly income level increased by DM650 to an average of DM3,000.

The economic situation of large families, however, has deteriorated sub*stantially.*

Today, 27 per cent of families with three or more children live below the subsistence level, which is based on the social security rate; in 1982 the corresponding figure was only 17 per cent.

Karlegon Halbach
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 3 December 1988)

Children speak out

Continued from page 12

him off!" Girls in particularly feel that school takes up too much of their time. "*There ought never to be classes in the* afternoon. "School and homework and helping out at home are too much," writes a 15-year-old girl at a comprehensive school.

Grades and reports come in for crushing criticism, as do the pressure to perform well and the forms punishment takes.

"I would scrap grades as they tend to brand many pupils. Some even feel driven to commit suicide. They are the ones who don't find jobs because the brighter ones are naturally preferred. A general assessment would be better," writes a 16-year-old German girl in her final year at secondary school.

Jobs or careers are, surprisingly, mentioned in only 2.16 per *cent of the essays* evaluated.

"There are many indications that this aspect is suppressed, especially where the writer's own future is concerned," Professor Sochatzky writes.

Vocational training and job problems do not assume importance until schoolchildren grow older.

Secondary school students seem the most keenly interested in their job prospects. Take, for instance, these comments by a 17-year-old German girl:

"I wouldn't grade everyone differently, like if you've only been to secondary school you're only fit to be a shop assistant and not a doctor's secretary.

"I feel secondary school-leavers do good work too. I would try to get people *together more somehow* or other so that they no longer think solely in terms of themselves."

A 15-year-old Turkish girl is more drastic. "When I have a job," she writes, "I should prefer not to be sacked right away."

The society, state and politics category includes issues such as the German Question, prison conditions, welfare policy, aliens and migrant workers, the economy, war and peace, work, unemploy*ment, armament and disarmament,* animals, vivisection and the environment.

Children are keen on peace, on scrapping nuclear weapons, on better environmental protection and on limits to or the abolition of experiments on laboratory animals.

Girls tend to comment more on the family and the domestic environment. They are keen to gain access to traditionally all-male jobs. They object to sexism in advertising and to "macho" behaviour.

Boys concentrate on sex, sport and non-commercial leisure activities.

They complain about inadequate public transport in small towns or rural areas. Buses and trains are either too expensive or too infrequent or the last bus is far too early.

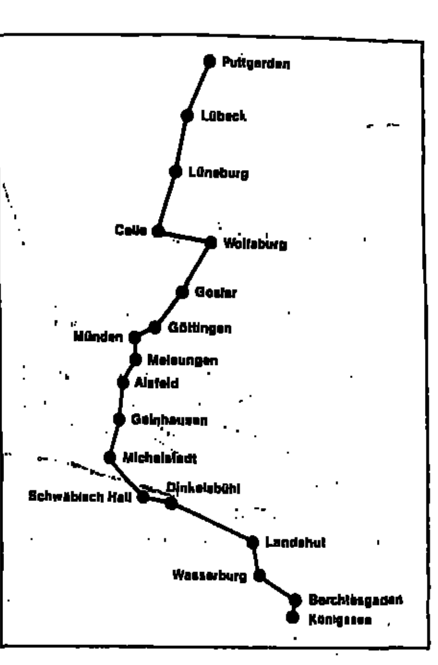
Fifty per cent of German schoolchildren are prejudiced against non-Germans to some degree or other.

Over half their Turkish classmates and just over half the other nationalities deplore this state of affairs and would like to see it rectified.

Gerhard Taube
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 November 1988)

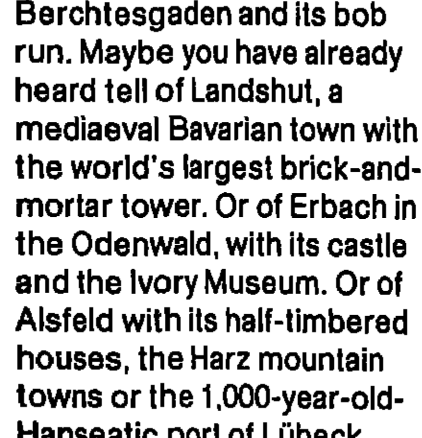
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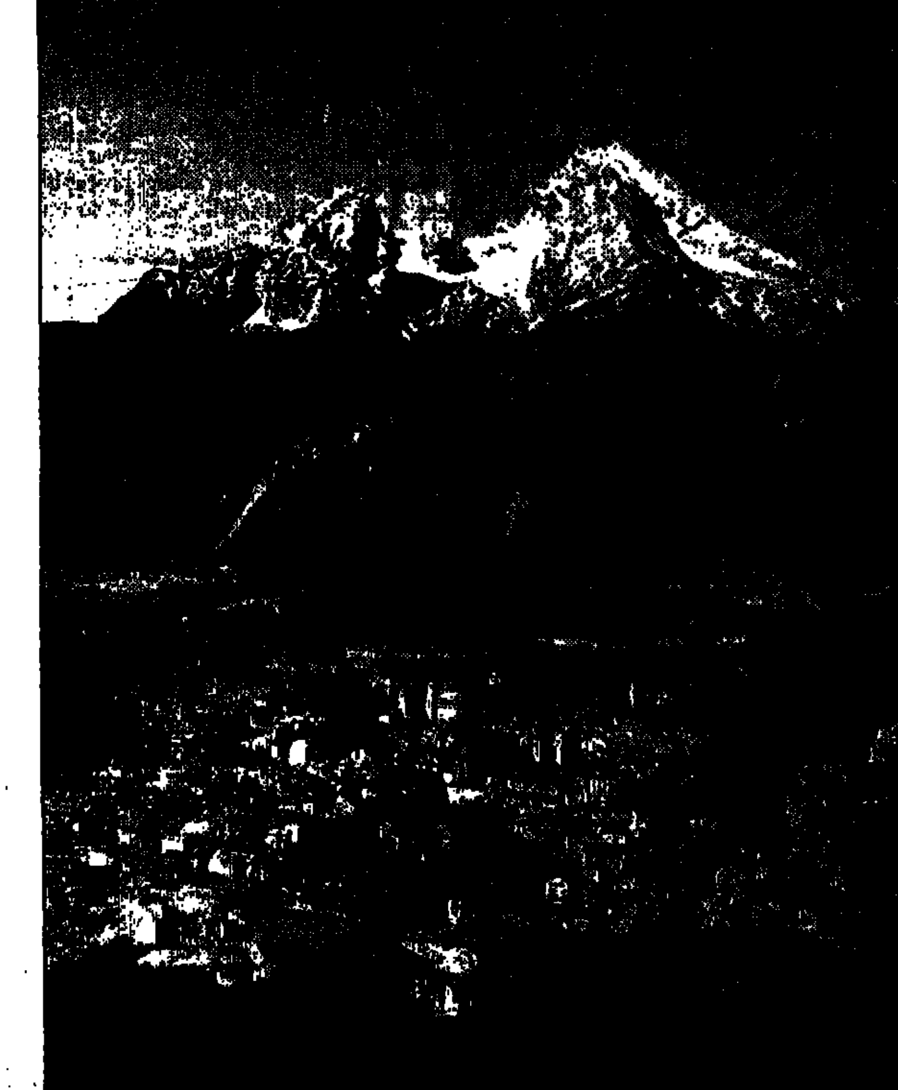


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